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THE JOURNAL
OF THE
ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES
OF IRELAND

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Professor Seán P. Ó Ríordáin, *President*.

THE JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND

FOR THE YEAR 1955

" PRESERVE, EXAMINE, ILLUSTRATE "

A COMMENTARY ON THE POSITION OF IRISH ARCHAEOLOGY

Address delivered at the General Meeting, 19*th April,* 1955

By Seán P. Ó Ríordáin, *President*

When I decided to say something of the present state of archaeology and of the provision for the care of the relics of the past in general in Ireland, I found it difficult to find a suitable title for my talk. The word " archaeology " though, in its fuller sense, wide enough to cover my subject matter, has in its normal usage too narrow a connotation. Then I happened to look at the stated aims of our Society as enunciated over a century ago and as still printed in our Statutes. Recently when the Council directed that an appeal be made for the safeguarding of our field monuments the original aims were re-stated as a spur to the loyalties of our members. Since what I have to say is an appeal as well as an assessment I have stolen from the somewhat archaic wording of our 1849 predecessors the three verbs— " to preserve, examine, illustrate ". If we word it in another way it means that the Society took upon itself the task of preserving the relics of the past (in field and museum), of conducting research on them and of disseminating knowledge by lectures and by the printed word.

The Society in its early days owned a Museum in Kilkenny (the material is now incorporated in the National collections) and carried out conservation work on monuments—for instance on the Nuns' Church at Clonmacnoise, and at Glendalough and elsewhere—thus giving earnest that

the aims were no empty formula. In 1849 the Royal Irish Academy and this Society stood practically alone in their interest in antiquities. The only instance of government support for such study was the appointment (at an earlier date) of John O'Donovan and his companions to the Ordnance Survey—a notable event but, unfortunately, without succession until a few years ago. Nor was official cognisance taken of archaeology as a subject in the universities of those days. Indeed, when O'Curry was appointed to a Professorship in Newman's University, the fact that the title of his chair contained the word " Archaeology " was something of a pioneering event in University Education, and (however his interpretation of the meaning of " archaeology " may have differed from ours) I can never pass the commemorative plaque in University Church without pride in the realisation that he was my first predecessor.

The Society still disseminates knowledge by lectures and publications and it acts as patron to research because it provides a general meeting-ground for its members; it provides a library and it acts as a publishing body. It is now, however, accepted everywhere that the formal teaching of archaeology is a matter for universities or special institutes and that research in the subject normally stems from and is a concomitant of such teaching. The care of the material relics of the past is something no society such as ours would now take upon itself—this duty has become a public charge which has fallen in the main to the State, in part to the local authorities. We view this change in outlook and responsibility regarding the duties that the newly-created Society took upon itself as another example of the common trend of social history during the past century.

This being so, it is legitimate to ask why the President should use the Society as a platform on which to discuss these matters. There are two reasons why it seems fitting that I should do so. In the first place it must be remembered that the amateur archaeologist (and by " amateur " I mean simply unpaid) still has his place in the study of the subject; he will have his place, rewarded only by the satisfying of his enthusiasm, no matter how the ranks of the professional archaeologists may be strengthened, and our Society is a rallying-place for such workers. Secondly, and more important in the present instance, a voluntary Society such as ours represents interested (and, therefore, let us hope, enlightened) but unfettered public opinion. Those things, which in the middle of the nineteenth century were regarded as lying within the competence of our Society are still our concern and, if we express opinions, they are ultimately intended as opinions on the keeping of the trust, not only by our rulers but by ourselves, because after all it is we who elect our rulers.

From what I have said it must be obvious that my survey is not concerned with scientific achievement or unsolved problems. A survey on these lines was provided by the late Dr. Adolf Mahr in 1937 in the course of his Presidential Address to the Prehistoric Society and was published in an outstanding paper in the *Proceedings* of that Society in 1937[1]; a survey of subsequent developments by me was published in the same journal

in 1946[2]. Mahr had a few general remarks to make on the provision for archaeology in Ireland but only incidental to his general theme of work done or in progress. In 1944 I published a paper on " Post-War Archaeology in Ireland "[3] in which I tried to assess the then strength of the subject—from the viewpoint of personnel and financial provision—and in which I made some suggestions for improvement. I am neither vain enough nor foolish enough to believe that my suggestions had any useful result—the only instance in which I know of any result at all is an ignoble example which I shall mention later. But hope springs eternal . . . and, at any rate, even if words do not bear fruit at least they serve to counter the argument that a case has not been made.

Because the situation was reviewed in 1944 I propose to take that year as a suitable yardstick by which to measure our position in 1955. In 1944 we were witnessing the beginning of the end of World War II. Planning was everywhere in the air and part of the planning was for the cultural things which the conflict had denied the warring peoples. Work which had been interrupted was to be resumed, new tasks were to be undertaken, new techniques could now be tried. A decade has gone by since the end of the war and, however uneasy the peace may be, there has been achievement in the world of archaeology. This is clear from even a cursory examination of learned journals or of publishers' lists of new books on the subject. A new factor has entered in; this is the popularisation of the results of research through books, films, radio and, most powerful medium of all, television. It amounts to this, that the public, the man in the street, let us put it, or the family at its fireside, because they are taxpayers, have become the patrons of research; they have, in fact, taken the place of the mediaeval princely patron and have eagerly asked to be told something of the tune since they have to pay the piper.

Everywhere we have witnessed this development of popular interest but perhaps it is best exemplified among our neighbours in Britain. We in Ireland lack television and lack Britain's multiplicity of radio programmes, which makes possible the broadcasting of archaeological information at different levels of popularisation, but it is clear that there is here also a growing popular interest in the relics of the past. An important sign of this is the number of field clubs and other local societies which have sprung into being throughout the country in recent times. The relationships of these newly-formed clubs with our Society or with other long-established societies is friendly and helpful. There are other evidences of popular interest in archaeology, such as the number of visitors to ancient sites and to excavations and the amount of newspaper space given to the subject.

[1]Mahr, Adolf. "New Aspects and Problems in Irish Prehistory, Presidential Address for 1937" *P.P.S.*, 3 (1937), 262-436.

[2]Ó Ríordáin, Seán P. "Prehistory in Ireland, 1937-46", *P.P.S.*, 6 (1946), 142-171.

[3]Ó Ríordáin, Seán P. "Post-War Archæology in Ireland", *Studies*, Dec. 1944, 475-486.

The case for the support of an academic subject at public expense is not necessarily based on popular appeal but the fact that the results of archaeological research can, at least in their wider aspects, be appreciated by the public makes easier the task of supporting such research. We shall now try to assess this support.

The State's contribution to archaeology has for long been channelled through two institutions—the National Monuments Section of the Office of Public Works and the National Museum. To these a third has been added—the post of Archaeological Officer which was established in the Ordnance Survey some years ago. Under a special government grant a research professorship in archaeology was created in the Royal Irish Academy; owing to the absence of the holder the post has remained unfilled for some years.

National Monuments

The work of the National Monuments Section is directed by the Inspector of National Monuments. The professional strength of the Section has recently been augmented by a temporary appointment in relation to the present alarming increase in destruction of field monuments and the post of Assistant Inspector (archaeologist) was advertised last year but has not yet been filled.

There are two aspects of this work—the conservation of antiquities that are mainly of an architectural character and the protection of antiquities of prehistoric or early historic times. The first type of monument requires expenditure of money to preserve its architectural features and to prevent further deterioration. I should find it hard to estimate the number of such monuments in the country which are worthy of State care in this manner. In the Twenty-Six Counties the number actually in Guardianship or Ownership is about 350 (omitting non-architectural remains). While we may feel dissatisfied with the number and may be inclined to argue that it should be increased very considerably, it must be admitted that the number which is actually the responsibility of the State is large enough to imply a great volume of work. At present three clerks-of-works are engaged under the Inspector and each of these is in charge of work at several sites. This implies a very large programme of travelling and inspection, to which is added inspection of other monuments, on which work is not actually in progress, in order to decide on future programmes or, possibly, to arrange for minor works under the supervision of district architects. It will readily be appreciated that this is a formidable task and one that can hardly be regarded as fittingly within the powers of one person. When, further, a site is being dealt with where it is thought necessary in the course of works of conservation to recover the early stages of its history—as occurred recently at Mellifont—the constant supervision of what of necessity becomes an archaeological problem is something which is likely very soon to overtax the organisation. It becomes evident therefore, that further professional assistance is a pressing need.

In Northern Ireland where about forty architectural monuments are preserved, the decisions as to which monuments are to be dealt with stem more directly from the Ancient Monuments Advisory Council and from the advisor (who is the Reader in Archaeology in Queen's University). The Council, though advisory in function, has considerable weight. Conservation is normally carried out by the Works Division, Ministry of Finance but the appointment of an architect to deal with ancient buildings is to take place in the near future.

In private and public comment on the care of ancient sites one frequently finds that reference is made to ruined buildings, especially churches, which are not in state charge but are, in fact, situated in burial grounds under the care of local Boards of Health. Critics frequently did not realise that the central government was not responsible. Under the 1930 National Monuments Act it was found to be legally impossible for a local authority to transfer to the State, even with agreement on both sides, a monument which happened to be in its charge. Whether such transfer is expedient or desirable is a matter which must be decided in each individual case but the fact is that the powers contained in the 1954 Amendments Act add potentially and ultimately will add in reality to the State's responsibility and to the work of the National Monuments Section of the Office of Public Works.

The architectural remains in the charge of the Monuments Section are in the main castles and monastic buildings. Except for a few examples, such as the Clontarf Casino, Tacumshin Windmill, Pearse's Cottage at Rosmuc and O'Dwyer's in the Glen of Imaal, the latest buildings cared for by the Monuments Section are seventeenth century castles. Two types of building—originating from widely separated points in the social scale—are worthy of consideration here and have been the subject of some unfruitful discussion. The one is the Georgian house—in particular the country house—the other the traditional-type cottage. Both represent the subject matter of archaeology in its widest sense for they are the material evidence of history. At any rate they illustrate, for the student of history and for the general public, the past in its social aspect.

Georgian Houses

When the Amendment Bill was being discussed in An Seanad recently there seemed to be a tendency among senators to believe that the Georgian house got less consideration than it deserved from those concerned with policy regarding National Monuments and that this was so because it represented, as one Senator expressed it, the oppression of the landlords. Presumably the criticism is directed, in part at least, at the Advisory Council. Let me say emphatically that it is not justified. The archaeological viewpoint is altogether against the destruction of material evidence of any stage of history. These houses represent an architectural taste which found distinctive expression here and as such they now represent a part of our history.

The problem is not one of desire to preserve; it is much more a question of the mechanics of the process. These large houses are no longer economically suitable to the circumstances of our time. They derive from a period when labour was cheap and when the owners were supported by big estates. The big estates have gone and the income which came from their sale has diminished to meagre proportions. When the remaining land is divided by the Land Commission the houses are left as very uneconomic propositions and a farmer with a comparatively small holding is glad to allow the house fall into ruin or be sold for scrap rather than have to pay heavy rates on it.

The use of some of the mansions as hotels or as religious houses or their purchase by non-nationals saves only a small proportion. The problem is beset with difficulties and is not peculiar to Ireland. The survival of the French chateau has been helped by the State in some cases; the English mansion is, in certain instances, maintained by the National Trust. In Northern Ireland a special sub-committee of the Monuments Council has made recommendations for measures designed to preserve at least selected examples. In this part of the country the matter must be considered in relation to the especial circumstances, and there is little value in the facile suggestion that is sometimes made—that these houses would serve admirably as museums. The upkeep of museums, the suitability of situation, accessibility and special function are all questions of complexity and importance—not answered by the haphazard exigencies of the problem of the preservation of large houses. Equally well these houses cannot be efficiently preserved as empty buildings. They must in some manner be living entities unless we are to find as a result of our efforts a further series of deteriorating and depressing ruins. Several Government Departments are concerned and the matter cannot be solved here and now but I should like to reiterate a suggestion already made and, I fear, lost sight of—that an inter-departmental committee be set up to examine the question from its diverse aspects, such as upkeep, use, finance (including rating and Income Tax problems), the matter of accessibility to the public and the return in cultural values, and perhaps also from the viewpoint of tourist attraction. We cannot rely on the unaided operations of a National Trust in this country and we can hardly count on large State expenditure, but much might be achieved as a result of consideration of the difficulties. We might at least be saved the sad admission that government departments were directly responsible for destruction—as when the Minister for Finance referred with regret in the Senate to the " tragedy " of the destruction by the Land Commission of Coole House—centre of inspiration of much of the Irish Literary Revival.

Traditional Houses

The problems of the preservation of typical rural houses of traditional type or groups of such houses involves, surprisingly perhaps, considerations which are in part parallel to those of the Georgian mansion. These houses are disappearing also for economic and social reasons. Transfer and

decrease of population are in part responsible; provision of dwellings which are more convenient and more sanitary involve desertion of old thatched houses and official regulations require the demolition of those abandoned. Little more than pious resolutions have been offered to lament the disappearance of these mementoes of traditional building styles and, in the case of groups, of traditional patterns of life. Their preservation as local folk museums has been suggested. The suggestion is well-intentioned but impracticable. Let us admit at once that there is nothing more depressing than an under-visited museum—and most depressing of all is the inadequate folk museum. Michael O'Dwyer's cottage has been converted into a museum representative of his period; it is a special case gaining importance from the historical associations. Yet it is not as well known as it deserves and is too little publicised. The fact that Sweden or other Scandinavian countries are able to support numerous museums, mainly devoted to folk material, is not an argument for the success of the same policy in this country.

On a recent visit to Cregneish on the Isle of Man I was struck with the fact that not only had some of the houses there been taken over for museum purposes but the policy of the Manx Museum was to preserve the whole group of houses—including the occupied dwellings. To do this involved a judicious combination of conservation of traditional features and introduction of innovations; the appearance of a television aerial on a thatched cottage may have been incongruous but was not thought sacrilegious.

In our case also some such compromise can be the only solution. Like the Georgian mansions, the traditional house types can only be preserved as living entities. This, in many cases, should not be beyond the possibility of well-considered planning. The building of *terre pisé* houses had some vogue in recent years; the adaptation of an old mud-walled house to modern requirements should not be impossible. These houses would rapidly deteriorate if left empty; we cannot condemn people to live in them without the amenities of their contemporaries but the addition of these amenities could surely be achieved while traditional features were preserved and the result would be a house of a quality superior to many of the thin-walled constructions of the modern builder. The difficulties are great—some are related to official regulations, some are due to practical details (the cost of thatch repair and the scarcity of skilled labour and suitable material, for instance)—but it seems to me that these should be possible of solution. (An English visitor once remarked to me that the reason we had so many archaeological monuments was that we never repair a house—we let it become a ruin and build a new one.) We might begin conserving some of our traditional buildings under official encouragement and assistance rather than talk of more expensive and unlikely plans.

Bunratty Castle

While on the question of old buildings and their use let me mention

two examples—the one with approval, the other as a solemn warning. Bunratty Castle, Co. Clare has been taken under Guardianship by the State. In addition to the conservation work which will be carried out under the Inspector of National Monuments, the owner intends to have the building made habitable and to use portion of it as a show-place where objects contemporary with the original occupation of the castle and other relevant items of interest would be shown to the public. This example of " living " conservation is one which we trust will be brought to a successful conclusion so that visitors may derive maximum benefit from the monument.

Kilmainham

The second item is the case of the Royal Hospital at Kilmainham. This is one of our very few seventeenth century buildings and it is almost unique in that it is complete and is situated in a pleasant setting. It is common knowledge that it is in bad condition and since the woodwork is affected it is inevitably becoming progressively worse. Its ultimate fate has, as is well-known, been under discussion at various levels and was raised again recently in the Senate and the commendable suggestion was made that it be used as a folk museum. I do not intend to discuss further this question of a folk museum (of which there is a fine nucleus in the National Museum, where space is at a premium, and much other material—of its nature bulky—is available in store), except to say that Kilmainham would suit excellently for this purpose and that its grounds are inviting for outdoor exhibits such as reconstructed houses and for the restaurant and other amenities which would be regarded as normal in a Scandinavian folk museum. But whatever its ultimate fate this country cannot contemplate the disgrace of allowing the Royal Hospital to fall into irretrievable disrepair and the amount of expenditure involved is likely to increase rather than to lessen with the passing of time. An early decision to safeguard the building may well mean ultimately a considerable economy.

Destruction of Monuments

When we turn from the question of the safeguarding of buildings to that of field monuments in general we find at present a situation that is very serious indeed. We in Ireland have long boasted of the wealth of antiquities which were to be seen throughout the country. We were at the same time conscious of how little had been done to investigate these and we were also conscious of the fact that they had suffered considerably during the ages and that in many cases only the remnants remained for investigation. That some destruction would take place is inevitable—some had in fact occurred in prehistoric times as is indicated wherever an ancient structure is found to overlie an earlier one. In general, however, these old sites were protected by a traditional respect—which was not always mere superstition.

The whole situation has suddenly and disastrously changed in recent

years. The initiation of large-scale schemes of land-improvement, drainage and other works, accompanied by the introduction of power machinery has resulted in the destruction of field antiquities on a scale which is unprecedented in the history of the country. Earthworks of various classes have disappeared in large numbers, but other types have also gone—megalithic tombs and at least one stone circle; cairns and castles have been destroyed for the sake of the stone they contained. Propaganda has been used and other attempts have been made to halt the tide of destruction—but the action taken has in general been belated, feeble, or ill-directed, and the destruction has gone on apace. From the economic aspect this is often unnecessary. Ring-forts have in some instances been bulldozed with very little advantage and in one known case with positively none whatever; furthermore the haphazard selection of monuments which have been given legal protection means that one farmer removes an earthwork while his neighbour is precluded from similar action.

The passage of the Amendment Bill through the Oireachtas was accompanied by a good deal of discussion, not all of which was strictly relevant to the Bill. Deputies and Senators indicated that they were in sympathy with the Bill and in general terms were anxious to preserve the national heritage of antiquities. Practically no reference was made to what is possibly the most important section of the new Act—that which provides for the " listing " or " scheduling " of monuments. This gives them protection by a much less cumbersome legal process than did the Preservation Order of the 1930 Act, and it is to be hoped that the powers contained in the Amending Act will be used widely. The " listing " of a monument is not an irrevocable step and in the case of sites which must necessarily be destroyed the prohibition can be lifted but time is provided for study of the individual case and for record and investigation if necessary.

Apart from legal measures of protection there is also another factor which is of the greatest importance—the education of the public. In this connection it may be appropriate to tell a story. Some time ago I happened to see a bulldozer at work tearing up scrub in a field adjoining an earthwork of very great historical and archaeological importance. There was danger that the use of the machine for the removal of the bushes growing on the earthwork would cause the bank to collapse. A talk with the farmer who owned the field was fruitful and interesting. Being a practical man he readily realised the possibility of damage to the bank. What he had not realised was the importance of the site. When this was explained to him he became rather vehement. " Why ", he asked, " hasn't someone told us this? I am as good an Irishman as the next and I don't want to destroy something which has to do with our history. We are not savages, you know ". The scrub was cleared from the earthwork by hand.

The story, and, though details may differ, it is by no means an isolated instance, indicates several things of importance. It indicates the latent goodwill which is available, and helps to answer the critics who regard the

attempt to preserve field antiquities as a sort of struggle between the hard-headed landowner or industrialist jealous of the rights of private property on the one hand and the unreasonable archaeologist on the other. It indicates also the lack of and the necessity for education—call it propaganda if you will—in the significance of our antiquities. The recent action of this Society in sending to members a circular on the " Destruction of Field Antiquities " was a step in the right direction. It received useful attention from the press, which brings to mind the fact that our newspapers in general have always proved helpful. If members of our Society, members of local societies and others who have knowledge of field antiquities take seriously the exhortations in the circular, a considerable amount of good should result; but what is everybody's business tends to become nobody's business and it is essential that serious official steps should be taken towards this aim of disseminating knowledge on the value of our field antiquities.

While the officials in State departments such as Land Commission, Forestry Branch, Land Rehabilitation and so on are willing to be helpful, they have not been given the guidance which would ensure the best results. A series of talks to groups of such officials would be likely to stimulate interest. Pamphlets and circulars have much less value but even these are meagre or lacking. During the war a booklet was circulated regarding the finding of objects in bogs. In the course of a Dáil debate some time ago the Minister for Education stated that another booklet was in preparation and in the Senate more recently the Minister for Finance said that a publication to cover the monuments in State care was being prepared. One wonders when these publications will be made available.

Turf-Cutting

During the war, as was pointed out in my 1944 paper, there was in operation a turf-cutting campaign of a greater magnitude than had ever before been undertaken in this country. The recommendation was made in that paper that steps be taken to have an observer with a roving commission who would visit the bogs being cut, show workers type series of antiquities and, in general, win their co-operation. One of the morning newspapers selected this item and dealt with it in a sub-leader. Official attention was aroused. The result was that a few lectures were given to turf-workers on large schemes within thirty miles of Dublin, thus leaving the problem practically untouched and certainly taking no cognisance of the schemes on the small bogs in the west and elsewhere, which were the ones really likely to be fruitful in the matter of the discovery of finds. How productive these areas are was proved to me personally when, during an excavation in County Mayo and as a result of local interest being awakened, a large number of finds discovered within a small radius was brought to notice. It is the workers in such areas in whom an archaeologist with a roving commission would have been able to awaken fruitful interest.

Mention of turf-cutting reminds one of the existence of Bord na Mona—the official body in charge of this activity on a national scale and makes

appropriate here a word of special commendation. Not only have discoveries been reported by Bord na Mona and assistance given in the investigation of find-places but the organisation has also helped to subsidize the publication of scientific work.

The question of turf-cutting however is one which, in the main, has to do with the chance discovery of archaeological objects and brings one somewhat away from those other activities which lead to the destruction of monuments. The answer, however, is similar: educative propaganda to the end that public and officials alike would realise the value of those things that are in danger of destruction and, since everything cannot be saved, it is obvious that sufficient staff should be employed not only to help to shape public opinion, to dissuade from destruction and to operate the legal machinery to that end but also to undertake where necessary the excavation of monuments which cannot be saved.

Educative Propaganda

The problem is not ours alone; in Britain not only is considerable effort being expended towards educational aims by such bodies as the Council for British Archaeology but also an enormous programme of rescue excavation is being carried out under the Ministry of Works. As we know, the efforts have not always been completely successful (one remembers the instances of destroyed barrows), but it must have had considerable effect even in the face of the vigorous programme of ploughing of marginal lands and other agricultural and industrial activities. The press, the radio and television have helped and we have seen the remarkable example of this in the case of the discovery of the Mithras temple in the City of London when, as a result of public pressure, the government seriously considered the question of the preservation of the temple *in situ* at a cost running into some hundreds of thousands of pounds. The compromise which was ultimately reached cost tens of thousands and was voluntarily borne by the owners of the site.

It is to be hoped that in Ireland this generation will not see a repetition of the wholesale clearance of field antiquities in a manner familiar in certain European countries where the dramatic change is exhibited by contrasting distribution maps dating respectively from early and late in the nineteenth century.

Tourist Attractions

Apart from the scientific value of these monuments as sources of knowledge of the past, there is another side of the story which also has weight—these antiquities have their importance as tourist attractions. In this connexion it is necessary to mention one of the hopeful signs of a responsible outlook on our antiquities. Our official tourist body, An Bord Fáilte, finding itself empowered under the 1952 Tourist Traffic Act to expend money on field antiquities and on their amenities, decided to appoint a full-time archaeologist to their staff. The Bord is able to have work carried

out not only directly by its own staff but also, on advice tendered by their archaeological officer, by local authorities and other bodies. In the case of the Newgrange passage-grave electric light now replaces the candles with which formerly we peered at the carvings. The carrying out of this work led incidentally to the discovery of archaeological objects near the mound and An Bord Fáilte interpreted their functions intelligently and generously when they decided to follow up this discovery by a trial excavation.

Excavation

The question of excavation, mentioned already incidentally, is a many-sided one which bears on several aspects of archaeology. Excavations may be " rescue " excavations in a minor or in a major sense or they may be conducted on sites where no element of emergency rescue work has influenced the selection. Rescue excavations may vary in magnitude; a few hours or so may go to recording such information as is available of a burial accidentally discovered in a sand-pit or there may be a large-scale site which is inevitably to be destroyed and which scientific and national conscience dictates should be fully investigated before it is too late. The small-scale rescue excavation mainly depends on the National Museum, to whom discoveries and finds must be reported, and the effective response must depend on the staffing of the Antiquities Division of the Museum and on freedom to travel at short notice when necessary.

The large-scale rescue excavation is, let us frankly admit it, something for which we are pathetically unequipped in the matter of either finance or personnel. It must be recognized that occasions will arise from time to time when field antiquities are threatened with destruction and when all efforts to save them, whether based on good will or on legal action, must give way before economic necessity. These antiquities should, if at all possible, be excavated before they are demolished but when they are of first-rate importance the situation becomes something more than a matter for regrets or pious resolutions; it has in it the elements of real emergency and of potential national disgrace. Such action as has already been taken in connection with sites about to be destroyed has been too haphazard or too meagre to give confidence that a major problem could be effectively dealt with.

In the main, Irish excavation is financed from the Special Employment Scheme vote and grants are allocated on the recommendations of the Archaeological Exploration Committee of the Royal Irish Academy. The practice of financing full-scale excavations from a vote to provide employment is one which goes back to the first government grants to archaeological excavation in 1934. Though in theory one could argue against it, we can have little quarrel with a system which works well, is intelligently administered and serves its dual purpose of providing employment and of furthering archaeological research.

That these excavations have produced valuable results is undoubted.

The criticism might be that these results should be increased by more numerous excavations and that the programme might show more evidence of planning to meet special research problems. The answer is the by now familiar theme—lack of personnel. The supply of competent supervisors is limited and, as the large excavations require a number of these, there is little opportunity of increasing the total of sites investigated, however much we may wish to do so; and planning to meet a special research programme would necessitate such increase. Also excavation implies publication and the more the available supervisors increase their field activities the more the burden of material for publication also increases. Non-publication of excavation results means that public money has been spent without the profit that should accrue from its expenditure and that archaeological sites have been dug without the record that science requires. These are matters of conscience—they weigh on us all but they should weigh more heavily on those who have done little to discharge their obligations—let us leave it thus.

Scientific Co-operation

There is a bottle-neck, other than the question of final publication which makes itself evident after excavation. I refer to the shortage of help available from other sciences. The fact is that our colleagues have been generous with their help, but are, in practically all instances, already too overburdened to be able to give largely of their time to problems arising from archaeological research. An excavation normally demands such post-fieldwork activities as osteological reports on human and animal bones, reports on materials such as metal, stone, charcoal, wood, textiles and so on and may also give rise to difficult and specialised problems of conservation of objects.

Some time ago a special conference was held on co-operation between the archaeologist and the natural scientist under the auspices of the Council for British Archaeology. The typed report which has been circulated impresses one with the resources available and the number of specialists who declared themselves ready to undertake particular lines of research on archaeological material. Nothing comparable can be expected here because this country is smaller and because the research departments of industrial firms in Britain who declared themselves willing to co-operate are not paralleled in this country. For many specialised problems it is likely that we must continue to look for help outside Ireland. The fact that others which should be done at home are only being attended to by the generosity of already over-burdened scientists indicates that inadequacy of staffing is not confined to archaeology but is also painfully apparent in certain scientific subjects.

This matter of co-operation between the archaeologist and the natural scientist has to do not only with recently excavated material but also with important problems of prehistoric research. If I mention but two lines of investigation, it remains true that the list could be made into a lengthy

one. A pressing need is the matter of metallurgical research—especially research into the components of early copper and bronze implements as a clue to the sources of their ores. There can be no doubt of Ireland's outstanding role in the early metallurgy of Western and Northern Europe and, although detailed analysis of metal implements is proceeding in certain continental countries and in Britain, it is still, with the exception of some trial experiments, lacking in Ireland. Secondly, one of the triumphs of scientific technique applied to archaeological material has been the application of petrology to the tracing of the axe factories and the distribution of their products. Axes from the Tievebulliagh, Co. Antrim factory have been traced far afield—in Britain and sporadically in Ireland. Undoubtedly, the problem is especially difficult in Ireland because of our complex geology, but in the hands of a capable research worker its investigation should give valuable results.

Except for these remarks on laboratory research, we have dealt, so far with the out-door aspect of archaeological studies. Let us look now at the indoor aspect—which, in the main, means examining the museum position. The National Museum takes first place in our consideration and here we find that for the first time since 1916 a full-time Director (who is not at the same time Keeper of a Division) has been appointed, and since the appointment is still comparatively recent, one is glad to be able to offer good wishes to the occupant of the Directorship.

Dr. Adolf Mahr

It is, I feel, fitting that I should here pay a brief tribute to the late Dr. Adolf Mahr, Keeper of Irish Antiquities and, also, towards the end of his time in Ireland, Director of the National Museum. Mahr spent the war years in Germany, where he died in 1951. Perhaps because of the circumstances of the time his service to Irish archaeology was never fully acknowledged. He did immense work in increasing the number of acquisitions by the Antiquities Division of the Museum, in arranging the storage of these acquisitions and in general in extending the Museum's function. But most of all he must be remembered for the encouragement he gave to others. It must be said that there are very few Irish archaeologists who do not owe something directly to his encouragement or indirectly to him through those he helped to take up archaeology.

National Museum

The National Museum holds a key position in relation to Irish archaeology for several reasons. In the first instance the Irish Antiquities Division possesses a collection of prehistoric, Early Christian and to some extent mediaeval material which is not only of supreme importance for Irish archaeology, but, in certain respects, is outstanding among European collections. One readily instances the collection of prehistoric gold and of artistic metalwork treasures of Early Christian Ireland. The housing, exhibition and, in general, the care of this material is a serious duty and a

task which the nation should be proud to accept. That this task cannot be fulfilled to the best advantage in present circumstances is obvious to anyone who looks at the overcrowded and badly suited halls of the National Museum building. The most that can be done now is to make the best use possible of the space available for the showing of select and attractive displays of outstanding and representative objects. The nature of this display must depend on future policy. If National Museum premises are likely to be provided in the near future or even if premises to exhibit or store some of the National Collections are to be made available (and I have already mentioned Kilmainham in this connexion) then the question of exhibition space is not likely to be a main problem. If, on the other hand, it is decided that the present buildings must suffice for a lengthy period it seems to me that drastic re-modelling is necessary that the best possible use to be made of them. Exhibition, however, is only one part of the duty of any museum and at least equally important is the matter of reserve collections which must be worked on and made easily available for study. Even this is becoming increasingly difficult because of the limited storage space in our National Museum.

Publications

It is furthermore obvious that research workers cannot know what they seek for in connexion with specialist studies if the reserve collection remains a large, ever-growing mass of material which is unknown because unpublished even in summary. It is repetition, but perhaps useful repetition, to say that Wilde's catalogue of 1857 and 1861 remains a brilliant achievement of its time but that it is still, now totally inadequate, the only general catalogue of the National Museum of Ireland. The Annual Reports (portion of the Reports of the Department of Education) which were published in the 1930's have ceased. They were brief accounts of each year's acquisitions, but, notwithstanding their summary character, were of very considerable value. Apart from the necessity for a general catalogue or catalogues which would give some indication of the content of the National Museum there is also demand for shorter publications on individual objects or on specialist themes. It is surely a sad commentary from the viewpoint of popular instruction and of our duties to our tourists that visitors to the National Museum cannot obtain even a small booklet on, say, the Ardagh Chalice or the Tara Brooch. Such publications and a profusion of well-produced postcards would be regarded as normal in any National Museum; in an institution containing the wealth of ours they are still more necessary and desirable and, if generously and intelligently provided, they should ultimately prove little or no expense to the State. It may be that the production of such material is held up because of the lack of writers sufficiently free to produce authoritative literature with a general appeal. What I am suggesting is a matter which, however, time should cure but in any case there are papers published in scientific periodicals which, if reprinted, would in some instances admirably suit. I have in mind the fact

that an excellent paper published in our Centenary Volume which gave a definitive account of early Irish coinage was reprinted to be made available at the National Museum but was never put on sale there. A large and expensively illustrated report on the skeletal remains excavated at Castleknock was published in 1950 and forms an imposing book produced under State auspices. It is not put on sale at the Museum and I have never seen a reveiw of it in any appropriate journal. Sometimes the State seems to do good deeds by stealth!

A further desideratum is the provision of guide-lecturers in the Museum —not only for tourists during the summer months but also for our own people and, especially important, for school-children. One would have thought that the " free " half-day now a weekly feature in National Schools would have made the appointment of such lecturers imperative. It is clear that an already over-burdened staff cannot undertake this task; it is also certain that our school-children deserve some guidance and instruction in the presence of the treasures of the National Museum. Without such guidance there is hardly anything more boring and profitless than a big museum; with intelligent explanations there can be few things more educational and inspiring.

Discoveries

Mention has already been made of the fact that under the Monuments Act the National Museum receives reports of new discoveries and that this frequently implies rescue excavations. The more successfully the law operates, the better the result but the greater the burden on the staff. It is also true that the Museum should take part in programmes of field-work research and that it should be not only a repository for the finds from most Irish excavations but should be able to help in the work of conservation and in providing specialists on various aspects of the excavated material. To show how under-equipped our Museum is for work of this kind would mean a more detailed account of its staffing, space and equipment than it would be proper to present here. But if we may hark back to 1927 and refer to the off-quoted Lithberg report on one detail only of Museum facilities—the staffing of the Irish Antiquities Division—we find that Dr. Lithberg and his colleagues recommended that the staff should consist of a Keeper and six assistants. It is perfectly obvious that the work which should be undertaken by the Division has increased to an enormous extent (partly due to the 1930 Act) since the report was made. The present position is that the estimates allow for a staff of a Keeper and four assistants but because of an unfilled vacancy and the seconding of one officer to other activities the effective strength consists of a Keeper and two assistants. The other divisions of the Museum concern less closely the progress of archaeology although, indeed, the Art and Industrial Division which houses historical material must also play an important role in furthering the study of the material evidences of history and in presenting this material, some of it of very attractive quality, to the public. To this later material, the principles of archaeology

are applicable and one is at once reminded, for instance, of our inadequate knowledge of such things as mediaeval pottery and of the necessity for such knowledge if, as is desirable, fieldwork be carried out on mediaeval sites. The Natural History Division of the Museum is perhaps at present the most inadequately staffed. In relation to archaeology this inadequacy has relevance to the necessity for specialist reports to which I have already referred. It is evident that the National Museum should be equipped not only to house archaeological material but also to report on the evidences of fauna, flora and so on that come from excavations and to extract from these sources the fullest possible knowledge of the natural environment related to ancient human activity. The resources of the natural sciences should also be available for the treatment and conservation of museum objects—something which requires that the now scarcely existent laboratory facilities be so strengthened as to bring them within a reasonable distance of what are regarded as the normal requirements of any museum of such status.

Other Museums

So far something has been said of the conservation of monuments, excavation and of the National Museum, thus covering the chief contributions of the State to archaeological activity. Outside Dublin there is no state museum. (In Dublin, largely as a result of Tostal effort and of the co-operation of the Old Dublin Society, a Civic Museum has been founded.) In Northern Ireland the museum in Belfast is supported by the city though it works in collaboration with archaeologists and normally receives the material from excavations throughout the Six Counties. The museum at Armagh is also supported by the local authorities. It has now been announced that the Government of Northern Ireland proposes at once to make available a capital grant for a folk museum and are prepared to provide an annual grant towards its upkeep. In the south the Museum at Cork is supported by an arrangement between Cork Corporation and University College, Cork with also a small grant from Cork County Council. A museum of expanding appeal is maintained by Maynooth College where we find mainly objects of ecclesiastical interest but also a collection of early scientific instruments. In Limerick a museum is housed as adjunct to the public library and in one or two other places small museum collections have been put on exhibit. On the whole, the desire for local museums has been expressed at various places throughout the country but with little considered planning for their upkeep and it is likely that ill-advised beginnings would rapidly deteriorate into dusty and dismal collections of bric-a-brac doing far more harm than good in the matter of fostering local pride or leading to the development of proper museums.

Advisory Committees

The 1930 National Monuments Act gave local authorities power to

set up advisory committees and to expend money on the preservation of field monuments. In general very little advantage has been taken of the powers conferred by the 1930 Act. In a few areas there are active committees and work has been done as a result of their recommendations. In most cases, however, committees have either not been set up at all or, having been set up, they failed to meet regularly or to have anything done as a result of recommendations from them.

It must be emphasised that these committees have an important function to perform because many field monuments, small but perhaps of considerable importance, can be dealt with more speedily and efficiently from a local centre than they could if they were to take a place in the queue of tasks to be done by the Office of Public Works. The type of effort one has in mind is the cleaning and repairing of monuments, making them more accessible to the public and providing informative plaques on them. The fact that such improvements result from local initiative has a further potential result in that it leads to local pride and serves as an antidote to indifference.

Export of Antiquities

Apart from the safeguarding of monuments and the reporting of finds, the 1930 Act gave power to prevent the export of archaeological objects. I wish to mention one sad instance of this export, which may be a salutary warning. I know nothing of the details but it was with a sense of shock that it was learned that the Emly Shrine, an important Early Christian reliquary, had left the country. The first public intimation that this had occurred was an article in an American journal. I do not know what were the preliminaries to the export of the shrine but I do know that the Irish public was also unaware of the situation and was therefore given no chance to enter the market for its purchase. One remembers with gratitude the cases in the nineteenth century when outstanding objects were saved by public subscriptions initiated by the Royal Irish Academy or its members.

Universities

All effort in archaeology must ultimately depend on the teaching of the subject and this brings us to the role of the universities. Obviously since I am so close to this aspect it would be improper for me to discuss the efficacy of our teaching. It is rather my function to say something here of provision for the subject, its staffing and so on, things which have in fact been improved since I last discussed the matter. Already in 1944 three colleges of the National University provided courses in Archaeology. The link with the public museum in Cork has strengthened teaching provision there and my own college in Dublin has increased the size of the Department of Archaeology and subsidised its research work. Trinity College, Dublin

has now appointed a Lecturer in Irish Archaeology and provides an annual series of open lectures in this subject. Queen's University, Belfast where no official provision had previously been made for teaching of the subject has now a Reader in Archaeology who is in charge of a growing Department that has close working co-operation with the Northern Ireland Archaeological Survey and other activities in the Six Counties. A grant from the Nuffield Fund has enabled the University to engage in an intensive campaign of quaternary research.

In the three colleges of the National University and in the Queen's University, Belfast archaeological courses can be taken leading to a degree in the subject or to degrees which in varying combinations with other subjects include archaeology. University College, Dublin has the only school of architecture in Ireland and the instruction given includes a short course in Irish archaeology, something which has the result of attracting a number of architectural students to excavations where their practical training has been of great value. One may hope also that such sporadic interest as our students have shown in the history of Irish architecture may be found to develop subsequently into real study of a field in which the specialists are far too few.

A criticism which might perhaps in justice be offered regarding our university teaching here, perhaps indeed everywhere except in the more organised continental universities, is that opportunities for practical work tend to be somewhat haphazard. In most cases students are given every encouragement to take part in field work and especially in excavations, but the opportunities for full training in practical indoor work and in surveying and varied excavation activites cannot be regarded as adequate and a closer liaison between the university and other bodies and institutions engaged in archaeology would help to increase opportunities for experience, especially at the early post-graduate level and should be of benefit not only to the student but also to the institutions concerned. This has been found to be the case elsewhere.

" Lack of personnel "

In the course of this address I have advocated no revolutionary policy in relation to Irish archaeology—no new institute, no central co-ordinating body. A case might be made for some such innovations but I sincerely believe that it is more important to strengthen the existing institutions rather than to found new ones. My recurring theme has been "lack of personnel". I believe that every one of the institutions serving Irish archaeology requires increased staff and I believe that a policy of recruitment will give confidence to our students to take up a subject which offers great attractions intellectually but too few materially. I am also convinced from experience that as a general rule our young people if given opportunity will work and will

produce results which will be to the credit of the country in a national sense and also in the sphere of international science.

Archaeological Survey

There is just one last topic; it is not new, but is rather a reiteration and a call for the realisation of something which has already been accepted in principle by the State. I refer to the Archaeological Survey. That the Survey is no recent demand from Irish archaeologists is well known to members of this Society. As early as 1888 we find the desire for an Archaeological Survey expressed and coupled with references to the short-lived efforts of the first Ordnance Survey. From the first decade of this century, when the Royal Commissioners were established in Britain, the Council of this Society stressed Ireland's claim to similar treatment. There followed frequent repetitions of the claim—in the form of recommendations, incidental references or formal Council Memorials. In his Presidential Address to our Society in 1925[1], Professor Macalister again made the case for a survey and re-stated this in the 1932 Summer Meeting in Cork.[2] In Dr. Leask's Presidential Address in 1942 the history of the claims for a Survey is summarised and progress is reported on the indoor work of excerpting from published sources as a preliminary to the Survey proper. Meanwhile the Commissions in Britain continue to produce their county volumes; Northern Ireland published its Preliminary Survey, based on work done just before the war, and is now engaged on the first of its detailed county surveys. We, in the twenty-six counties must ask ourselves if we are content to lag disgracefully behind in this task. The financial provision for the initiation of a Survey does not involve a great amount. The employment of full-time trained workers (qualified in archaeology or architecture) is essential but I am convinced that much part-time competent help is available and could, under proper guidance, be profitably employed. Indeed, without the enlisting of such help the Survey is likely to be unconscionably expensive and unreasonably prolonged.

Improvements

I have said that in this Address I would measure the present provisions for Irish archaeology against the state of things before the end of World War II. I have found weaknesses and asked for improvements. I have also pointed to what has been done since 1944. It would be churlish and unfair if I did not acknowledge thankfully what has been done—by the State in new appointments, in expenditure on excavation and other work, by the universities in increased staffing and in such grants towards research as are within their scope; by the local authorities and by some Government-sponsored boards.

[1]*The Present and Future of Archæology in Ireland,* (Dublin, n.d.—available from the Society).

[2]Reported in *Cork Examiner,* 13 July, 1932.

It must be said that the improvement which has taken place, based as it was on a weak initial position, remains still very inadequate. In righting the inadequacy our legislators should feel strengthened in the knowledge that the expenditure should bring scientific and popular returns—on national and international planes. And in all this our Society and similar bodies in Ireland must continue to provide a link between the professional and amateur and will, we hope, exert influence towards ends which we all desire.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE FISHERIES OF THE RIVER NORE

By A. E. J. Went, *Member*

THE River Nore, one of Ireland's great rivers, has, since early times, been known for its salmon fisheries and like many salmon rivers the most valuable fishery is situated in the region of the upper waters of its estuary. Before salmon can reach the Nore proper on their way upstream they must run the gauntlet of many types of fishing engines. Today drift nets, snap nets and stake nets catch fish moving up into the Nore. It is not intended to describe all the numerous engines used for the capture of salmon both now and in former times in the conjoined Barrow and Nore or their confluence with the Suir and it should suffice to say that the runs of salmon into the Nore, by the time they have reached the estuary of the river proper (upstream of Tinnaranny), have already been reduced by catches in many different types of engines. In the estuary of the Nore there were in former times a number of engines called head weirs. These structures are of ancient origin and all save one have now been declared illegal and were abolished in the middle of last century.[1] Something further will be said about these weirs later. The places mentioned in this paper have been located in the sketch map given in fig. 1.

Orpen, in an interesting paper,[2] mentions that Milo FitzDavid early in the thirteenth century richly endowed the nunnery of Kilculliheen and granted to it, *inter alia*, " a net to fish with in the waters of Clone ". He identified Clone with Cloon or Clonamery on the left bank of the Nore three miles below Inistioge. If Orpen is correct then the nunnery of Kilculliheen had a fishery or rather the right to use a net on the Nore in its tidal waters. It need not surprise us that a religious house should have fishing rights so far from its house because this was not unusual. That there was a salmon fishery somewhere in the region mentioned by Orpen is obvious from later documents. At the dissolution an extent was made of the property of the nunnery of Kilculliheen and it is shown as having a number of salmon fisheries.[3] On 27th November, 1543 a decree was pronounced by Lord Chancellor Alen in a suit in which Miles, Bishop of Ossory and his brother David, Baron of Brownsford were the plaintiffs and some inhabitants of Inistioge were defendants relating to the fishing opposite

[1]Went, Arthur E. J., "Irish Fishing weirs" *J.R.S.A.I.* lxxvi. 177-180 and lxxviii 1-4.

[2]Orpen, G. H. "Motes and Norman castles in Ossory" *J.R.S.A.I.* xxxix 322-3.

[3]*Monastic Extents* (1943) *Ed.* N.B. White, Dublin, p. 204.

their lands.[4] The plaintiffs claimed the fishery without let or hindrance from the defendants or the Portreeve or Commons of the town of Inistioge and that the latter should not fish in the portion of the river adjoining the plaintiffs land without permission. David was the owner of lands now in the

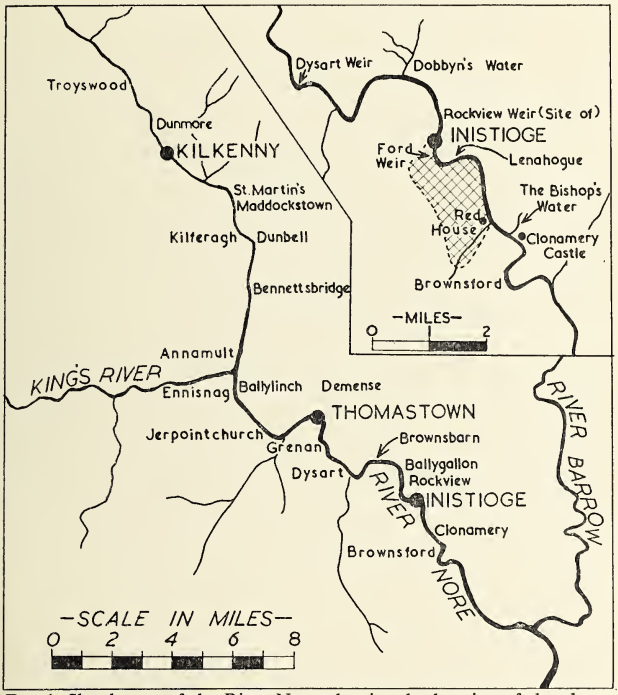

FIG. 1. Sketch map of the River Nore, showing the location of the places mentioned in the text. *Inset*. Region around Inistioge on larger scale with Woodstock Estate cross hatched.

townland of Brownsford and it is possible that he also had lands in Clonamery[5] (held by his brother the Bishop) on the opposite side of the

[4]G. D. Burtchaell, "The Geraldines of the County Kilkenny Part 111, The Barons of Brownsford". *J.R.S.A.I.* xxiii. 411.

[5]Langrishe, R. "The priory of Inistioge", *J.R.S.A.I.*, xxvi, 377ff.

river. The fishery owned by David certainly included two salmon weirs. The owner of Brownsford and his brother had, therefore, an interest in preventing the people of Inistioge from fishing and thereby reducing the flow of salmon to the weirs.

In 1585 David Fitzgerald of Brownsford conveyed his property to Gerald Blanchfield or Blanchville and others for the use of and in trust for his grandson. This property included two salmon weirs.[6] David's estate was the subject of an inquisition held on 6th February 1622 before Edward Yorke Deputy Escheator of Leinster at the Sessions House, Kilkenny, when he was shown to have been seized of " Brownsford with two salmon weirs on the Nore held of the Earl of Desmond and his wife as of their manor of Iveak."[7] Apparently David's grandson Edmond, mentioned earlier, also held 3 other weirs in the same region since he is said to have transferred " in writing dated 20th March 1606 to Edmond Sentleger and Robert Forstall ", three weirs on the River Nore.[8] Further references to these weirs appear to be lacking but in 1863 a head weir off Brownsford was ordered to be abated by the Special Commissioners for Irish Fisheries.[9] At that time this weir was in the hands of two ladies named Vicars and the net was operated by a Mr. John Hunt. These fisheries need not concern us further at this stage.

Upstream of Brownsford there was another more valuable fishery which was owned by the priory of Inistioge. It is the only monastic settlement in Kilkenny which tradition expressly states was founded in the time of the Celtic Church and it was dedicated to St. Columba and also to B.V.M. Thomas FitzAnthony, Seneschal of Leinster, is said to have founded the later house, possibly on the ancient Celtic site, in 1210 and he certainly endowed it with lands and other property which may have passed to him by conquest and possibly he confirmed also to the priory its former possessions. Be that as it may the priory acquired a fishery on the River Nore, the limits of which are described at the dissolution as extending from Dobbyns water to the Bishop's water.[10] Dobbyn's water is a small stream on the eastern extremity of the townland of Brownsbarn on the left bank of the Nore about $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{2}{3}$ mile downstream from Kilmacshane or Brownsbarn Bridge. A small stream entering the Nore about 300 yards WNW. of the ruins of Clonemery Castle was in the year 1896 known to old people as the Bishop's water. Bishop Milo, Bishop of Ossory as we have already seen, is reputed to have had a residence close to the ruined church of Clonamery so that identification of this stream is probably correct. in October 1537 a jury at Kilkenny presented that

> the Prior of Inystyok, the Abbot of Gerpoint and divers others dwelling nere into the Ryvere, doo make and set suche weares from bank to bank in the same Ryver from Inystyok unto the mountaign of Bleme that no fery nor bote may have their course.[11]

[6] *J.R.S.A.I.* i. 489.

[7] *J.R.S.A.I.* xxiii. 414.

[8] Healy, W. (1893) *History of Kilkenny*, Dublin, pp. 404-5.

[9] *Report Special Comm. Irish Fisheries*, 1865, pp. 26-7.

[10] *Monastic Ext. op. cit.* p. 185.

[11] Hore, and Graves, *Southern and eastern counties of Ireland*, Dublin, pp. 109-10.

This was contrary to a statute of the 28th year of Henry VIII.[12] We are also told in the document emanating from the Kilkenny jury that " the Fyshermen (of Inystyok) doe, for the most parte, sell the fyshe they doe take there from the inhabitants of the city (*of Kilkenny*) against the common weale of the same countrey ". The italics are mine.

The priory of Inistioge was surrendered to the crown on 20th March 1540 and an extent of its property was made on 8th January 1541.[13] In 1542 apparently a lease of the fishery was made to Richard Butler of Ferns for 21 years[14] and on 20th December 1551 a lease in reversion was granted to Edward Seyntloo for 21 years. By letters patent of 24th May 1568 the fishery with other property was conveyed to Sir Edward Butler of Cloughgrenan in tail male and on the 4th August 1603 his son Theobald was created Viscount Butler of Tulleophelen.[15] At Thomastown on 9th September 1607 an inquisition was held and Theobald, Viscount Butler was found to be seised as of fee in the right of the priory of Inestioke of *inter alia,* the river Nore with the several fisheries thereon from the land called Dobyn's land in the north part as far as the lands of Bishop of Ossory on the south side. We were informed however, that the commons of Inistioge are in the habit of fishing there. Later on the 20th December 1607 a grant in fee simple was made to Theobald Viscount Butler of the abovementioned several fishery on the Nore.[16] Viscount Butler died in 1613 and his estates passed by marriage to the first Duke of Ormond, whose grandson in 1696 on 24th March demised the property of Inistioge and the several fishery to one Richard Fletcher who assigned it to Thomas Medlicott on 5th October 1696 for £400. Medlicott apparently was only an agent in the transaction for he acknowledged that the money paid was that of Stephen Sweet. James, Duke of Ormond on 10th July 1703 granted the lands and fishery to Stephen Sweet. Incidentally the payment of rent for the years 1607-1610 by Theobald Butler was proved in a High Court action in 1896 by production of the records of the Crown rentals.

On 17th January 1714 Sweet made a lease of the property of the fishery to a man named William Joyce for 21 years at a rent of £7

> 'over and above and clear of all taxes and county charges and a couple of good large fat turkeys yearly at Christmas and a good fresh large tidle fat salmon on the first Wednesday every Lent and another on the first Wednesday in every May, or 10 shillings in lieu thereof, provided the said William Joyce uses the fishing and the like rent and duty of salmon in manner aforesaid for each and every person not a householder in Inistioge for the time being in his house or otherwise a sojourner, servant or co-partner with him who shall work in cots, or net, or fish for salmon; and also 5 shillings for each and every angrell or spent fish which they or any of them or any other person, or servant co-partner or sojourner with them or either of them, shall take, kill or destroy, dispose of and eat the same, to be payable the very next day after such taking, killing or destroying, disposing or catching'.

[12] *28 Henry VIII, cap.* 22.

[13] *Monastic Ext. op. cit.* p. 185 and I. *Irish Reports* (1897) pp. 140-144.

[14] I. *Irish Reports* (1897) pp. 140-144.

[15] Healy (op. cit.) p. 74 and I. *Irish Reports* (1897) pp. 140-144.

[16] *Repert. pat. rolls. Ire., Jas. I.* p. 372, and *Cal. pat. rolls. Ire. Jas. I.* p. 109 xxii. 34. The term "several fishery" means an exclusive or private fishery from which the public are barred.

Sweet's daughter and sole heiress married Sir William Fowndes Bart and on 11th February 1746 Sir William leased to one Edward Archdekan, certain property including the fishing at a yearly rent of £17 10s. 0d. for a period of 31 years, fishing and sporting rights being reserved to the lessor. The lease stated that during its term Archdekan shall have

> 'liberty to fish on the said river with nets, the said Archdekan payeing yearly unto the said Sir William Fowndes four salmons and eight peals for each net that he shall so fish with or five shillings sterling in lieu for each salmon and two shillings sterling for each peal which the said Edward Archdekan doth hereby promise to pay,.

Archdekan's lease did not run its full course and on 17th January 1755 Fowndes made a lease to Henry Hayden for 31 years at a rent of £17/10 of the same premises as Archdekan got in 1746, Hayden paying the same dues for each net fished. Hayden in 1772 got a lease of the town and land of Cloan and in the lease there was a covenant preventing the erection of weirs.

On 23rd May 1765, Sarah, only child of Sir William Fowndes, married William Tighe of Rossana, one time M.P. for Athboy, and through her the Tighe family came into possession of the Woodstock estate and fisheries at Inistioge.[17]

In the year 1802 William Tighe, then owner of the Woodstock Estate and a son of Sarah, (née Fowndes) wrote a book on County Kilkenny in which he mentioned at great length the fishery of the River Nore. His statement is worth quoting *in extenso* as follows:—

> The country people catch salmon with a snap net suspended between two cots, which are small boats flat-bottomed, narrow, equal at both ends and governed by paddles, two men in each boat, the net drawn, the boats are closed immediately. The fish thus taken are mostly sold at Ross and Waterford and jolters find it worth while to go from Kilkenny to Ross to purchase salmon in the latter at 3d. per pound and retail it in Kilkenny at 4d. which are the usual prices, they generally take upon a little car about three hundred weight in two small square baskets. On the Nore, as far as the tide water extends there are several weirs for taking salmon; most of them are ebb weirs, open to the descending currents and are fished only during the latter half of the ebb; the wings which are staked and wattled, extend through the part of the river where there is least current, so as not to impede the navigation and are only as high as half the flood water, where they meet in an angle the fisherman has a seat elevated upon four framed poles, where he holds the net. Flood weirs are most injurious, as they catch the fish in their ascent; of these there are a few in the Nore and also in the Suir. . . .
>
> Above the tide water they are taken in different ways, of which cross fishing is the most destructive. The quantity of salmon has particularly in the Nore, very much decreased within the last forty years, probably for various causes; one of the principal is, the number of mills, etc.[18]

Now Tighe himself was an owner of at least one ebb weir so that it is not surprising that he should complain of the flood weirs. Each of these weirs went by the name of " head weir " (see page 32). The nets mentioned

[17]Burke's *Landed gentry in Ireland,* London, 1912, pp. 692-3.

in the leases to Archdekan and Hayden (*op. cit.*) may have, in fact, been snap nets.

The Inistioge fishery included in the middle of last century a salmon weir known as the " Ford Weir " just below the bridge at Inistioge and an ebb-weir close to the Red House on the southern boundary of Woodstock Park. This latter weir was the subject of an inquiry on 26th October 1863 by the Special Commissioners of Irish Fisheries[19] when it was ordered to be abated as an obstruction to navigation under the provisions of the Fisheries Act of that year.[20] On appeal to the Queen's Bench the appeal was dismissed. On 6th April 1865 an inquiry was held into the legality of the Ford Weir, a structure of quite a different type from the Red House Weir (see page 32). On that occasion the title to the weir was held to be good but an illegal spur wall was ordered to be removed and a gap of 60 feet was approved,[21] (it had formerly been only 47 feet). It will be necessary to say more about these weirs later.

After the Red House Weir had been declared illegal and abatement was ordered the then owner of Woodstock, Colonel W. F. F. Tighe introduced a large seine net or draft net, and in 1866 he commenced netting at a place known as Lenahogue with what is now locally called the " Big Net " of Inistioge. From that time onwards the " Big Net " and the salmon weir below the bridge were the sole means used by the proprietors to exploit the fishery commercially. For a period from the late twenties until 1939 the Ford Weir was out of operation but in the latter year it was reconstructed and recommenced operations in 1940.

A short distance upstream of Inistioge Bridge at Rockview another weir was operated in former times off the townland of Ballygallen. I have not been able to discover anything definite of the history of this weir, but from the proximity of the weir to Inistioge it may well be the weir mentioned in a deed dated 16th January 1603 by Patrick White granting to David Dobbin fitzRobert of Waterford and Stephen White of the same city, *inter alia,* " a weir, inch and great grove within the franchises of Inistioge ". At the time (7th April 1864) the Special Commissioners of Irish Fisheries adjudicated on it, Rockview weir, as it was called, was in the possession of a man named Greene.[22] The gap was then 47 feet broad and a new gap of 78 feet was ordered. Rockview weir has not been operated for many years and by 1903 it was apparently in ruins. (See Ordnance Survey, Co. Kilkenny, Sheet 32, 1903 edition). Now it is only represented by the remains of the piers on which a small tree is growing. It is shown however, on the earliest Ordnance map as a " fish weir ".

Further upstream still off the townland of Dysart another salmon fishing weir was in existence in the middle of last century. This weir then in the possession of one Maurice Carroll was adjudicated upon by the

[18]Tighe, William (1802), *Statistical observations relative to the County of Kilkenny,* Dublin, pp. 150-151.

[19]*Report Special Comm. Irish Fish.,* 1865. p. 26.

[20]*26 and 27 Vict. C. 114.* "An Act to amend the Laws relating to Fisheries in Ireland". (1863). Section 5.

[21]*Ormond Deeds,* vi. 117.

[22]*Report,* 1865. *op. cit.* p. 34.

Special Commissioners for Irish Fisheries in 1864 and they decided that the title to the weir was good and a gap of 47 feet was approved. As in the case of Rockview Weir I have not been able to find anything definite in the records regarding this weir.

In the vicinity of Thomastown, County Kilkenny important fisheries existed in by-gone days. On 15th January 1609 an inquisition taken at Kilkenny showed that Richard Archdeacon was seised of *inter alia* " three fish weirs within the burgagery of Thomastown."[23] A similar inquisition nearly 3 months later on 28th March 1609 had the same findings. A man of the same name, possibly the same man, " Richard Archdeacon otherwise McOdo " of Bawnemore was granted on 21st May 1611 " three weirs within the same borough (Thomastown) on the Nore and half the fishings " adjoining the lands he had acquired.[24] An inquisition taken at Gowran on 16th January 1619 showed that Richard Archdeacon was still in possession of these weirs and the moiety of the fishing.[25]

Just below Thomastown at Grenan there was apparently an important fishery at this period for at an inquisition taken on 17th September 1622 Thomas Denn of Grenan was shown to be seised of *inter alia* five fishing weirs on the River Nore.[26] What these fishing weirs were used for we cannot say but in 1839 when the first Ordnance Survey map was prepared there were a number of fishing weirs in this vicinity. Indeed in the vicinity of Thomastown there are a large number of suitable sites for fishing weirs for either salmon or eels.

The Cistercian abbey of Jerpoint had a number of fishery possessions which at the dissolution included *inter alia* a fishing weir valued at 6s. 8d. in the grange of Mokhowne alias Rathline.[27] The abbey was surrendered by Oliver Grace the last Abbot on 18th March 1540. Subsequently the earl of Thomond obtained the possessions of the abbey and on 8th February 1557 Thomas, Earl of Thomond granted "the water mill of Gerypounde called the Earl's mill, with the water course, mill pond, weir, fishery etc., for 21 years at an annual rent of £6 to Oliver Grace, who presumably was the last abbot.[28] The fishing weir mentioned can be identified as it is that situated between the townlands of Jerpoint West and Jerpoint Church. (See Ordnance Survey, Co. Kilkenny, Sheet 28). This weir has no doubt been in existence for very many years and in 1863 the Special Commissioners of Irish Fisheries held an inquiry into it and the Commissioners found that the title was good but the free gap, then called the Queen's share, was to be cleared out and an offending spur wall was ordered to be removed. A gap of 66 feet was also ordered, that at the passing of the Act being only 47 feet. The weir at that time was held by a Mr. P. H. Hunt. Subsequently the weir came into the hands of the Irish Land Commission which leases it from time to time to suitable tenants. This weir will be further described in a later section of this paper.

[23]Healy, *op. cit.* pp. 123, 156.

[24]*Cal. pat. rolls. Ire. James* p. 199, xvii. 38.

[25]Healy op. cit. p. 290.

[26]Healy op. cit. p. 398.

a

b

c

(*a*); Inistioge weir from Inistioge Bridge
(*b*); Inistioge weir from right bank looking upstream, and
(*c*); Dysart weir from right bank looking upstream

The abbey of Jerpoint had other fisheries fairly close by for we find that in the year 1532 the abbot and convent of Jerpoint granted to Thomas Fossard the water of Sherdan near Kilgrellan, with a weir and cadellis (fish baskets).[29] Kilgrellan is probably Killeen within the present Ballylinch demesne where on the 1839 Ordnance Map a salmon weir was shown. We also have evidence of another fishery owned by this house for the abbot and convent in leased to Adam Brenagh alias Walshe of Woolengrange "Kylbleyn with mills, weirs and fishery".[30] The former fishery in Kilgrellan was granted to Thomas, earl of Ormond and Ossory on 26th November 1604.[31] Another fishery owned by the abbey of Jerpoint was described as "a fishing stream in the grange of Mokehowne alias Rathlyn". This property was also granted to Thomas earl of Ormond and Ossory in Elizabeth's reign[32] when it was described as a fishing weir. Subsequently in 1604 Thomas earl of Ormond got another grant of this property.[33] Another fishery owned by this abbey at Dunbell will be mentioned later.

The Cistercian abbey of Duiske, at Graiguenamanagh on the Barrow had at the dissolution a "water mill and half an eel weir" valued at 106s. 8d. at Annamult which is just upstream of the Ballylinch Demesne.[34] It was not unusual for religious houses to have fisheries well away from their houses as we have already seen in connection with Kilculliheen.

Some distance further upstream the mills of Bennettsbridge have been important over a very long period. In 1583 on 28 November Thomas earl of Ormond granted to Nicholas Stack of Bennettsbridge the mill of that place with a moiety of the fishing of the mill and weir there at a rent of £8.[35] This form of fishing was obviously associated with the mill and may have been what we now call a fishing mill-dam. That is to say a dam used for supplying water for motive power on one hand and for catching fish on the other. Such structures have, with the passage of time, for reasons which we need not go into now, almost completely disappeared in the south of Ireland. The record is interesting, however, in indicating the existence of such a fishery here in bye-gone days. There is still a mill at this place.

As mentioned previously the abbey of Jerpoint also had a fishery at Dunbell, about 2 miles upstream of Bennettsbridge for on 9 March 1519 the abbot and convent leased to Robert Roth, a burgess of Kilkenny the fishery here for 31 years.[36] The fishery is not specifically described but it may have been associated with a water mill.[37]

On 24th May 1621 James Forstal was shown by inquisition to be in possession of the manor etc. of Kilferagh with *inter alia* two weirs on the

[27]*Monastic Extents op. cit.*, p. 182-3.
[28]*Ormond Deeds*, v, 90.
[29]*Ir. Mon. Deeds. 1200-1600.* p. 69.
[30]*Ir. Mon. Deeds. 1200-1600.* p. 79.
[31]*Repert. pat. rolls. Ire. Jas. I.* p. 118.
[32]*P.R.I. rep. D.K.* xi. 88. *Fiant Eliza.* No. 504 dated 8 March. 1563.
[33]*Cal. pat. rolls. Ire., Jas. I.* p. 52, x. 18. 26 Nov.
[34]*Monastic Extents* op. cit. p. 195.
[35]*Ormond deeds*, v. 327.
[36]*Ir. Mon. Deeds, 1200-1600* p. 65.
[37]Archdall. *Mon. Hib.* (1786) p. 358.

River Nore in the same manor.[38] Kilferagh is on the west bank of the Nore opposite Dunbell and there are a number of weirs adjacent which may have been the successors of the weirs mentioned in this record.

Further upstream still at Maddockstown there was another important fishery long ago. There is on record a letter dated 30th May 1451 by Robert Folyng appointing Laurence Acland and Robert Archdekyn as attorneys to " give to the prior of Jerpoint and convent seisin of the grantor's mill of Madokeston with fishing weir ".[39] At Maddockstown there is today a large mill with appurtenant weirs and this is undoubtedly the successor of the mill referred to in the record from 1451. There is of course, no fishing weir today.

Another record of interest relates to the manor of Jowellstowne, which for the want of local knowledge I have been unable to identify. An inquisition taken at the Black Friars at Kilkenny on 13th January 1618 Patrick Shortall, late of Rathardmore was shown to have been in the possession of *inter alia,* 1 fish weir on the Nore within the demesne lands of Jowellstowne.[40] These premises were held from the earl of Ormond.

We now come to Kilkenny itself. In the vicinity of the city there were a number of fisheries used commercially in days gone by. A letter of William Ilger dated 11 June 1375 states that Alice, wife of Hugh Le Despenser had granted to the said William the " constableship of the castle of Kilkenny, a great park opposite the gate of the castle there, a dovecot in the same park, a garden, a fishing of the river, a weir there, six acres of land in ' le Inches ' and ' castel ' orchard etc."[41] In turn these possessions were granted to William Lumbard by Ilger. Twenty four years later Hugh le Despenser by letters granted to James le Botiller, earl of Ormond, his castle etc. with its appurtenant fisheries.[42] These letters were exemplified and enrolled by Richard II on 22 March 1392. There is on record an account of the rents of the earl of Ormond for November 1405 in which the " rent of the river of Kilkenny is specifically mentioned.[43] A further rental for November 1434 shows that one John Cok paid 3s. 4d. " for the farm of the weir of the Nore ".[44]

A further deed dated 13th September 1611 is on record whereby Walter Butler and Nicholas Shortall granted to Dan. McCarty and others, *inter alia* the fishing of St. Martin's.[45] This fishing was obviously well downstream of Kilkenny but sufficiently near to be considered as adjacent to the city.

The *Civil Survey* indicates that in the parish of St. John's in the liberties of the city of Kilkenny the Earl of Ormond was in 1651 in possession of the " mills called the Stone mills with a ffishinge weir ".[46] There are two possible sites for the weir, just east of the property of Kilkenny College.

[38]Healy, *op. cit.* p. 298.
[39]*Ir. Mon. Deeds, 1200-1600* p. 31.
[40]Healy, *op. cit.* p. 226.
[41]*Ormond Deeds,* ii. 141.
[42]*Ormond Deeds,* ii. 213, 215.
[43]*Ormond Deeds,* ii. 279.
[44]*Ormond Deeds,* iii. 110.
[45]*Cal. pat. rolls. Ire. Jas. I.* p. 293, li. 21.
[46]*Civil Survey,* vi. 551.

a

b

c

(*a*); Dysart weir from left (east) bank looking upstream
(*b*); Jerpoint weir from right bank looking upstream, and
(*c*); Jerpoint weir from right bank looking downstream

a

b

The net fishing at Lenahogue below Inistioge, showing (*a*); the pool and watch tower and (*b*); the net being hauled

Upstream of Kilkenny at Dunmore there were one or more fishing weirs in the years 1433 for on 10th February of that year Elena, daughter and heir of Robert Freyng granted to Nicholas, son of John Croker of Kilkenny " all her portion of the Nore extending from the ville or townland of Dunmore to the end of the island opposite the weir of Donore for the purpose of erecting fishing weirs ".[47] The place name of Donore is now Troys Wood, adjacent to which townland there is a weir. The extent of the fishing referred to in this document cannot be traced with accuracy.

On 15th November 1531 " Edmond McCode alias Archdeken " granted to Pero earl of Ossory and Margaret his wife, all his lands etc., in the town of Killeme together with a fishery " de fosse " etc.[48] The meaning of this document is obscure since Killeme is apparently Kilkiernan, a parish just north of Kilkenny, but it is not on the Nore or any tributary worth mentioning. Be that as it may the fishery should be mentioned.

So much for the Nore itself. The only tributary we need consider is the King's River which enters the main river between Thomastown and Bennettsbridge. A fishery in the lower part of the King's River with a portion of the Nore was apparently important in the fourteenth century. On 25th March 1353 William, son of Richard Coterel, granted to David Baret and others *inter alia* " four acres of meadow with fishing of le Nor and le Ri in le Corbali near Inonac ".[49] A little over two years later David Baret and others granted this property to Walter Danniell of Kells. This fishing at the junction of the Nore and the King's River was within the parish of Inistioge. The same fishery was the subject of another transfer on 16th Aprl 1422.[50]

METHODS OF FISHING

The foregoing account of the fishings of the River Nore indicates the general position in the economy of the neighbourhood as well as the methods of fishing adopted down the ages in the river. Perhaps this is the important aspect of the historical study of the fisheries of a river such as the Nore. Briefly the fishing methods adopted included the use of fishing weirs of two types namely, the tidal ebb or flood weir, usually called a " head weir " and the riverine weirs, certain forms of nets, i.e. draft and snap nets, as well as rod and line for salmon, together with traps for eels. In the following sections it is proposed to deal with each of these engines separately.

Head weirs. The mode of operation of these weirs has been described in my paper published in a previous issue of the *Journal* and it is unnecessary

[47]Patrick Walters "Original documents connected with Kilkenny". *J.R.S.A.I.* xii. 540-1.

[48]*Ormond Deeds*, iv. 148.

[49]*Ormond Deeds*, ii. 9.

[50]*Ormond Deeds*, iii. 42.

to say more now than that a number of these weirs can be traced as having existed in the River Nore in former days. In particular they were mentioned in two records and we know the exact site of two of them.[51] Both of these weirs were ebb-weirs. The existence of flood weirs in the Nore is mentioned by Tighe in his interesting notes on the area (page 26). These ancient fishing engines went out of operation last century after having existed for many centuries for the head weir is one of the most primitive types of engines used for the capture of salmon, as well as of other fish, in Ireland.

Riverine Weirs. The fishing weirs which I have termed riverine weirs act in quite a different fashion from the head weirs mentioned above. I have already described the riverine weirs of the Rivers Corrib Erne, Liffey, Boyne elsewhere.[52] A fishing weir of this type depends on being situated in a part of the river where there is always a current in one direction only, i.e. downstream. In one or more of its parts this type of weir has one or more boxes or cribs. These boxes or cribs constitute the actual fishing part of the weir and salmon moving upstream in the normal way find their passage barred by the weir, move along it until they find the converging walls or inscales between which they pass into the box itself. Here in a confined space they can be easily removed by a gaff, spear or landing net. As we have already seen a number of such weirs were and still are fished in the River Nore. The main weirs of this type at Inistioge, Dysart, and Jerpoint are still operated but others such as those at Rockview, Thomastown and elsewhere have been given up for various reasons. A series of illustrations of the existing weirs are given in plates I and II.

Fishing mill dams. In passing I referred on page 29 to the possibility that a fishing mill dam may have been used at Bennettsbridge. A fishing mill dam in technical parlance is used to indicate a structure which is used on one hand for the purpose of providing power for a mill, or less frequently for navigation, as well as on the other hand for fishing. Such a structure has in some part a trap for catching fish. It is, of course, possible that such engines were in existence elsewhere on the Nore but with the passage of time they have disappeared, although within the memory of people still alive baskets for eels were hung in the gaps in many mill weirs along the Nore.

Eel weirs. As we have already seen the Cistercian abbey of Duiske at Graiguenamanagh had at the dissolution part of an eel weir at Annamult which is just upstream of the Ballylinch Demesne. (page 29) An eel

[51]These weirs were situated off the townland of Brownsford and off the southern boundary of Woodstock Park. They were both abated in the year 1864 as being a danger to navigation.

[52]See Arthur E. J. Went, "The Galway Fishery". *Proc. Roy. Irish Acad. 49.* c. 5. "Fishing weirs of the River Erne" *J.R.S.A.I.,* lxxv. 213-223; "Fisheries of the River Liffey" *J.R.S.A.I.* lxxxiv. 57-8. and "Fisheries of the River Boyne", *Co. Louth A.S.Jn.,* xiii, 18-33.

weir operates quite differently from the salmon weir as it is intended to capture eels as they descend to the sea. A full description of the method has been given in a previous contribution to the *Journal* relating to the Erne. Apart from this type of weir in some cases the eels were trapped on a grating and lead into a box supplied with running water. Here the eels were kept alive until required for market or use in the household of the fisherman. This method was particularly useful when eels were trapped in a fishing mill dam i.e. in connection with the dam for supplying power to a mill.

Netting for Salmon. Reference has already been made (page 27) to the use of the so-called "Big Net". The Big Net is merely a draft net used in a particular way. Salmon moving upstream have to pass a large pool in the river at Lenahogue and unless the net is shot and hauled at the right time no fish would be taken. One of the fishermen, therefore, is on constant watch to note when the fish move upstream over a natural bar across the river which forms the downstream sill of the pool where the netting takes place. As soon as he sees the fish he gives a signal to the fishing crew who shoot the net and haul it. When the water is clear, in order to obtain a better view of the river the watcher or spotter may ascend a specially constructed watch tower (plate III) to carry out his task. As mentioned earlier this net first came into operation in 1866 as a substitute for the Red House Head Weir which had sometime earlier been declared illegal.

A more ancient method of fishing is that of the snap net a description of which has been given by Tighe. The snap net is a smallish net which is operated between two boats called cots. Each cot holds two men, one to propel the boat and the other to manage the net. The cots drift with the current being propelled from time to time if necessary by the paddles. As soon as the fish hits the net, the lower rope or foot rope is hauled up and the fish is held in a fold of the net. In other words the net is snapped. The two boats then draw up close and the fish is removed. The cots themselves are small, flat bottomed boats.

Angling. Angling for salmon and trout has been practised on this river for many years but it is surprising that until recently it has not found mention in the literature.

LOUGH GUR EXCAVATIONS: THE MEGALITHIC TOMB

By

Seán P. Ó Ríordáin, *President*

and

Gearóid Ó h-Iceadha, *Member*

FOREWORD

The excavation of the megalithic tomb which lies south of the lake at Lough Gur, Co. Limerick was carried out in 1938 as part of the State-aided Archaeological Schemes financed from the fund then known as the

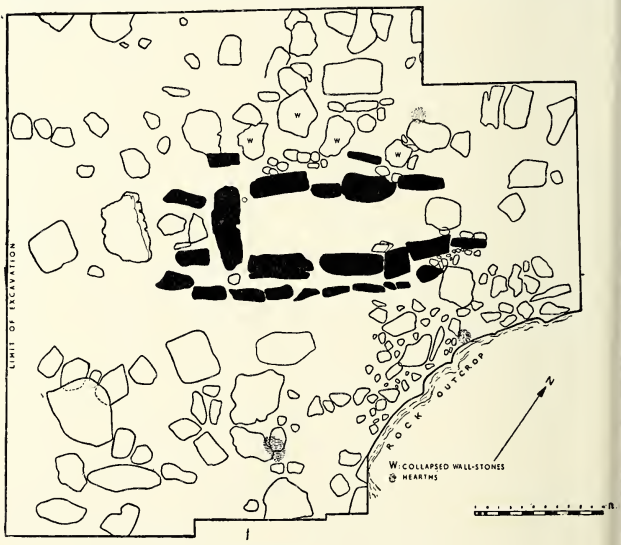

FIG. 1. Lough Gur Megalith: Plan showing excavated area

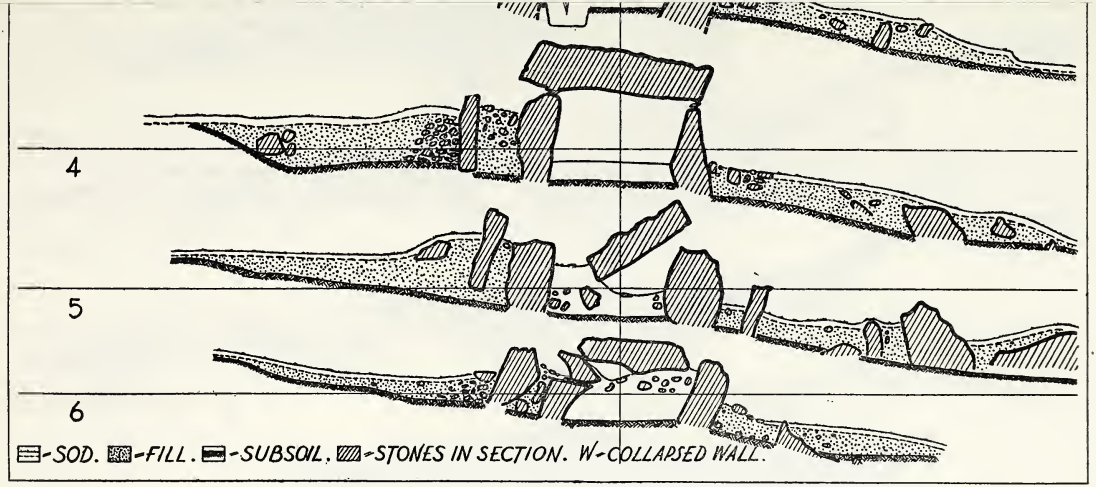

FIG. 2. Lough Gur megalith: Plan and sections

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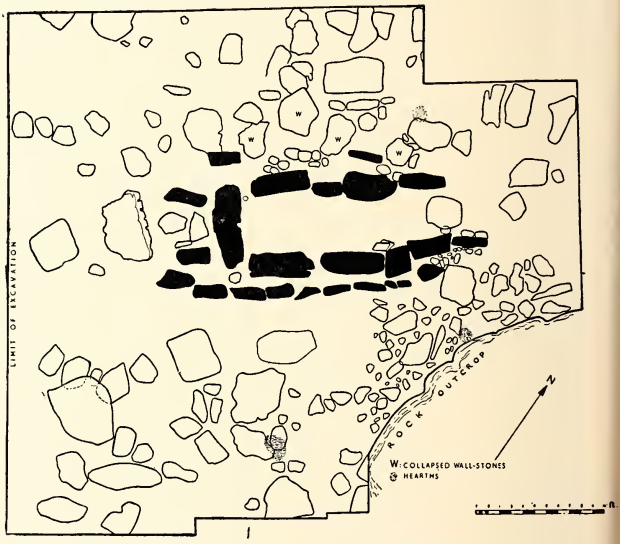

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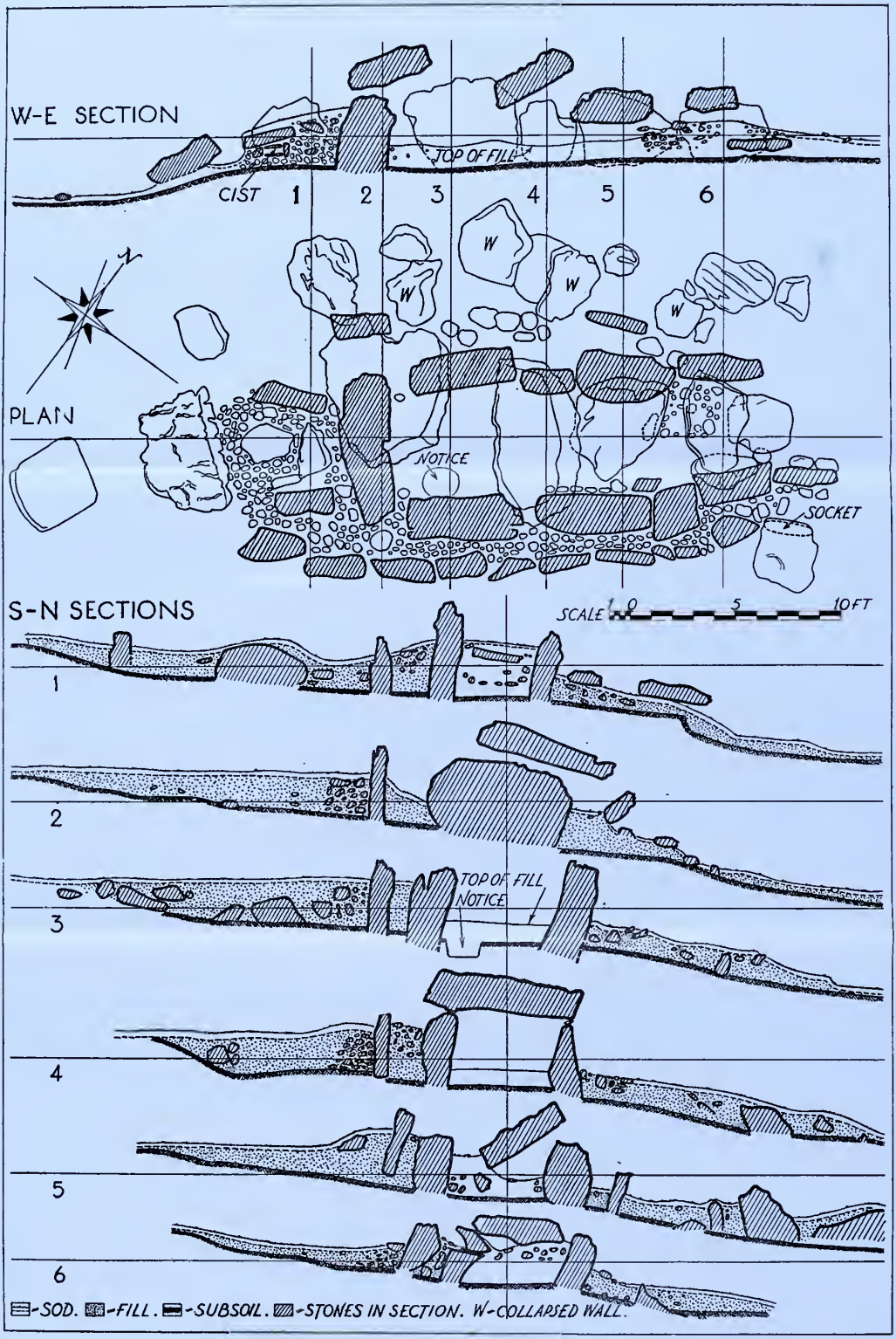

FIG. 2. Lough Gur megalith: Plan and sections

Relief of Unemployment Fund. This excavation is one item in a long series of excavations which have been conducted since 1936 in the neighbourhood of Lough Gur.[1] The work of the excavation of the megalith was supervised by Mr. Ó h-Iceadha and the description of the excavation, which follows immediately here, has been contributed by him as also the drawing of plan and sections.

THE EXCAVATION

The site which is marked ' Giants' Graves ' on the Ordnance map[2] is about 75 yards from the eastern margin of the lake at approximately 300′ O.D. on the WNW slope of a small hill which rises to a height of about 400′. It is in a rectangular field of about a quarter of an acre, bounded by stone walls.

The Structure

The structure (fig. 2) is of limestone, measuring approximately 29′ by 12′ overall, its main axis extending SW-NE.[3] It consists of two parts: a long main chamber about 5′ by 21′ and a small subsidiary chamber or portal at the western end. A large septal stone separates the main from the western chamber. The north and south walls of the main chamber consisted each of four large orthostats laid roughly parallel. Secondary walls of relatively thin flags stood outside, separated from the main walls by a packing of small stones and earth. While the outer wall on the south side, consisting of eleven stones, was almost intact, its counterpart on the north side had only two stones *in situ*, the collapse being due to the steep slope of the ground away from the monument on that side. The main chamber was covered by four capstones which inclined upwards in line from east to west. The western capstone had been displaced. The adjoining one rested in its original position while the next had moved from its southern support, a small upright which stands inside the south wall. The extreme eastern capstone, being too small to span the chamber, is supported at its southern end by a large corbel which in turn rests on the south wall. At the eastern end of the main chamber at slightly above subsoil level and partly under the extreme eastern capstone there lay a large stone slab (pl. IV, b).

The western chamber or portal is enclosed on the north and south by single large orthostats. It measures approximately 4′ north to south. A large stone, 6′ by 3½′, lay on the ground immediately to the west. This may have been capstone or end stone; it is again mentioned below under " Conclusions ". This chamber had an undisturbed filling of small closely packed stones, in the upper layers of which lay two stone slabs.

[1] See Ó Ríordáin: "Lough Gur Excavations: Neolithic and Bronze Age Houses on Knockadoon," *P.RI.A.*, 56 C (1954), 458 for list of the sites, for enumeration of those excavated and references to the published reports.

[2] Co. Limerick, O.S. Sheet 32 of the 6″ scale, 20 and 18.8 cms. from the left and upper margins respectively.

[3] For the convenience of description the main axis is being regarded as W-E, the SW end being described as west.

The ground to the south of the monument and extending out from it for a distance of about 15′ seemed to have silted up. Before excavation the surface on this side reached almost to the top of the south wall (pl. IV. a).

Excavation

Two trenches opened outwards from the monument on the south side disclosed a stone revetment against the outer south wall extending down to subsoil level. The discovery of numerous potsherds in these trenches at all levels indicated that a considerable area all round the structure would have to be examined and an area of 50′ by 40′ was finally uncovered (fig.1). Potsherds were found at all levels down to subsoil, the yield being heaviest on the south side close to the structure and gradually thinning out towards the limits of the excavation except in the extreme south-west clearance at about 20′ from the structure where over 300 sherds were recovered from shallow soil.

Animal bones in small quantities, flint fragments and quartz pebbles were also found scattered throughout the entire area. An ox burial was uncovered slightly over the subsoil on the south side at a distance of about 6′ from the centre of the south wall (pl. V, b). A hearth uncovered at subsoil level 5′ north of the NE corner of the structure produced cremated bone, potsherds and some burnt wood. Badly crushed pottery with cremated bone was found a few inches below ground surface adjoining a large rock outcrop 8′ south of the SE corner of the monument.

Main Chamber

The western half of the main chamber had a loose filling about 9″ deep, which had been considerably disturbed, the place having been dug into for the erection of the notice post. Except for a few bone fragments and an extensive charcoal layer on the subsoil nothing was found.

An animal jawbone, two small patches of charcoal and an animal tooth were found beneath the western edge of the second capstone from the east end.

Human bones and a considerable quantity of pottery fragments were uncovered under the two extreme eastern capstones. The bones had been very much crushed by the heavy stone fill. A piece of human skull and bone were also found beneath the recumbent slab at the extreme eastern end of the chamber

The Western Chamber or ' Portal '

The removal of the eastern slab revealed immediately beneath human bones and some pottery fragments. At a slightly lower level and beneath the western slab a small cist measuring approximately 15″ square was exposed (pl. V, a). It contained fragments of cremated bone and pottery.

a

b

Lough Gur megalithic tomb: (*a*) General view at commencement of excavation (*b*) East end

a

b

c

Lough Gur megalithic tomb: (*a*) Cist in western chamber (bottom of picture to south); (*b*) Ox burial; (*c*) South side of tomb after excavation

FIG. 3. Pottery: Beaker. ($\frac{1}{2}$)

A variety of potsherds were recovered from the filling throughout this chamber. The cist was almost at subsoil level and directly beneath it a potsherd and one bone were found.

Wall Filling

The intact wall filling on the south side was completely removed and potsherds and bones were recovered from it at all levels.

FINDS

Pottery

A considerable amount of pottery came from the site; otherwise the finds consist of a small number of worked flints, a few stone objects and some modern objects. By far the greatest amount of pottery was of Beaker type; other varieties represented were Class II[1], a small quantity of Class I, some Food Vessel sherds and a considerable number of decorated sherds not strictly classifiable and of varying affinities. Since Beaker is the predominant type it is convenient to deal with it first.

Beaker (fig. 3) It is not possible to estimate how many Beakers are represented but the variety of rims, bases and ornament found suggests a considerable number. About 250 sherds exhibit recognisable Beaker ornament but as well as this many plain red or buff sherds undoubtedly belong to this class of pottery although in the absence of features it is difficult to estimate how many. Most of the fragments are small and in no case was it found possible to reconstruct a vessel. From the rim profiles and ornament it is clear, however, that both A and B Beakers are represented—straight and inturned profiles such as Nos. 4 and 5 almost certainly belonging to AC types and out-turned rims such as No. 8 and the continuous zoned ornament noted on many sherds being more consistent with B. The range of ornament is illustrated by the selection of sherds on fig. 3. Ornament of cog-wheel or comb impressions forming a hyphenated line is by far the most prevalent. Patterns are in the main horizontal lines of these impressions (1-4, 15, 16, 38) sometimes combined with diagonal, criss-cross or vertical lines in the same technique (4, 5, 17-20, 23, 24, 27). The impressions vary from fairly bold large-toothed examples (15) to much finer and lighter hyphenations (16, 30). This type of ornament occurs on both inside and outside of several rims (2). Other techniques are combined with these hyphenated lines. A rim sherd (11) has a slight moulding above which is a pattern of stab or finger-nail impressions arranged in chevrons and below are horizontal hyphenated lines. Smaller stab marks are combined with cog-wheel on No. 25 and a hurdle pattern occurs on Nos. 21 and

[1] The classification here used is that which was adopted for the very large and representative pottery series from the house-sites on Knockadoon. The characteristics and relationships of the various classes are fully described in the report on the excavations of the houses (*P.R.I.A.*, 56C (1954), *passim* and especially 326-343) and are therefore not repeated here.

22. A number of sherds have plain incised lines of ornament and these vary from light incisions (7, 8, 32) to deeper grooves (6, 9, 10, 26). Again this ornament occurs on both inside and outside of rims (7). A pattern which combines horizontal grooves with light diagonal hyphenated lines occurs on No. 26. Two sherds have oval impressions (perhaps made with the finger-nail) arranged as chevrons; one of them (28) is of fine ware with a burnished surface whereas the other (29) is more porous with small white grits. This type of ornament is not frequent on the Lough Gur Beakers but examples are known from elsewhere and, in any case, the texture, colour and general quality of the pottery favour its inclusion in this class. A fine smooth red sherd (31) has stab marks arranged in horizontal lines.

Colour and texture show the usual variation. The majority of fragments are red or buff with some few sherds of darker colour. In general the pottery has a fine smooth burnished or sandy surface but examples occur of more porous corky wares. Some fragments are of exceptionally fine quality and similar to the very excellent wares noted on Site D, Knockadoon. Illustrated examples are 32, a hard dark grey ware with fine incised ornament and tiny white grits and 33, which is brick-red with tiny white grits, unornamented and identical in quality with the larger rim-fragments illustrated from Site D.[1] Many fragments of base were found and the selection illustrated (34-41) shows the variation in profile—some show a sharp junction of side and base (36, 37, 41) and some a definite splay (40). One piece (38) is unusually rounded but can hardly be anything other than junction of side and base.

Class I (fig. 4) As already stated the amount of pottery which can with confidence be assigned to Class I is very small. Some simple rims (4-6) are illustrated, which from their dark colour (almost black), absence of ornament and fine hard texture seem to belong to this class of ware. Other simple rims, buff or red in colour (1-3 and 7-9) are less confidently included here as, although unornamented, they may belong to Beakers. No. 10, dark red merging to black in colour, has the smooth burnished surface and leathery appearance of some Neolithic wares. Two shoulders only were found (12 and 13); one (12), red merging to black in colour, is identical in surface and texture with No. 10 and may well belong to the same pot. No. 13 is of much coarser black ware with a buff surface. A sherd with internally bevelled rim (14) is yellow on the outer surface and black on inner surface and in the body; the ware contains an exceedingly large number of white grits ground rather fine. All these characteristics suggest Class II ware but the thinness of the pot is more consistent with Class I and here, as perhaps also in No. 13, there seem to be signs of interaction of different pottery traditions. A few featureless sherds have the corky texture noted on many of the Lough Gur Class I pieces and may also belong to this group.

[1] *P.R.I.A.*, 56C (1954), 396. Illustrated Fig. 35: 17, 18, 19 and Plate XLVII: 1 2, 4.

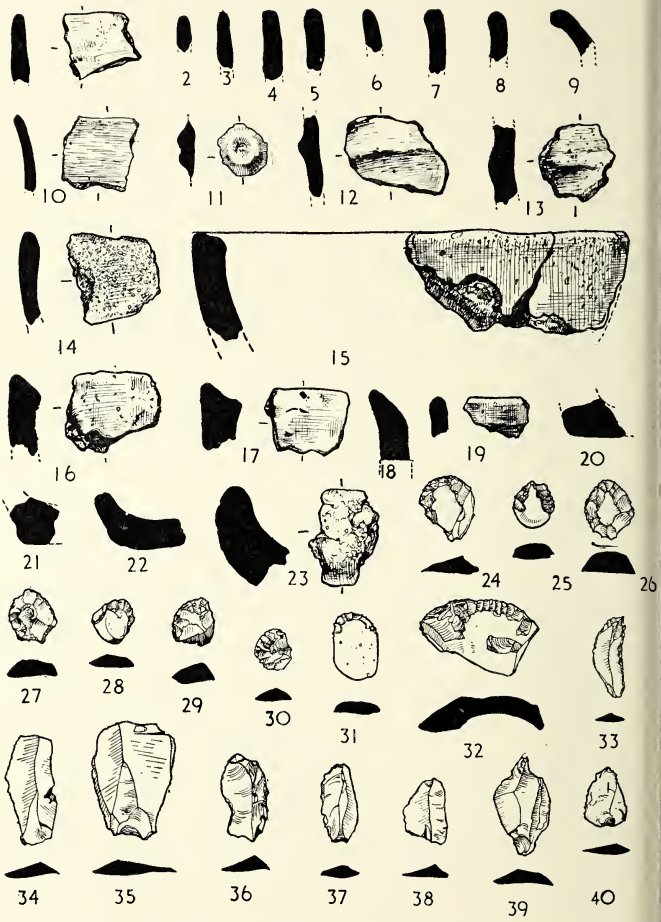

FIG. 4. Pottery (Class I and Class II) and flints. ($\frac{1}{2}$)

Class II (fig. 4) About 100 sherds of Class II pottery were found but not many vessels seem to be represented. A group of sherds belonging to a single vessel were found beside a hearth at the south of the structure. Several of the rim sherds joined and it was possible to determine the diameter of the rim (15). The ware is dark and heavy; it has numerous grits but the outer buff-coloured surface has a type of slip of finer clay as noted on pottery of this class from Knockadoon. The rim has a slight internal bevel and the pot was of rather smaller diameter than usual for this type. The curvature suggests a round-bottomed vessel. Another group of fragments come from a fairly thin-walled pot, pale grey in colour with numerous grits and evidently poorly fired; a fragment (16) of the internally bevelled rim is illustrated. Other sherds occur of similar but darker ware from a pot having a rim with a longer internal bevel (18). The shape and thickness of rim fragment No. 17 merits its inclusion with Class II but it is of hard, good pottery, free from grits and in quality more similar to wares described below under " Miscellaneous ". Base sherds (20-22) are of typical coarse Class II ware. A group of featureless fragments (not illustrated) are of very poor quality pottery—thick, abnormally gritty and crumbly in texture.

One portion of encrusted ornament was found. It (11) is a small hollow boss or raised ring which has obviously become detached from the surface of a vessel. Such an ornament would be appropriate to an encrusted urn[1] but the same type occurs also in comparatively early contexts—on the Rinyo-Clacton ware which is regarded as late Neolithic in date.[2] Encrustation has been noted on the Class II pottery from Knockadoon house-sites but only in the form of cordons.

Miscellaneous (fig. 5) Under this heading we deal with a selection of decorated pottery which is not assignable to any of the classes dealt with above and which forms an interesting addition to similar ornamented wares noted on other sites in the Lough Gur neighbourhood.[3]

Many of the sherds included here are of a ware that is heavy but well-finished and free from grits; they are normally buff or red in colour. The typical ornament is of irregularly distributed finger-nail impressions or more formally arranged oval impressions and the group is similar to examples from the Grange stone circle and also from the house-sites on Knockadoon.[4] Among the illustrated examples (1-9) there is one flat rim fragment (1) and a piece of base (7) on which the ornament occurs on the underneath as well as on the side of the vessel. Variety in colour and thickness indicates that the available sherds represent a number of pots. One fragment of similar ware (10) has an unusual design of small oval stabs arranged in herring-bone fashion. Two sherds (11, 12) are of coarser more

[1] Examples in *Ant.* J., VII (1927), Pl. XXV and *J.R.S.A.I.*, 61 (1931), Pls. I and II.

[2] Illustrated in Piggott, *Neolithic Cultures of the British Isles*, (Cambridge, 1954), Pl. XII.

[3] Especially at the Grange stone circle, *P.R.I.A.*, 54C (1951), 62 ff.

[4] *P.R.I.A.*, 54C (1951), Fig. 8: 9-14 and *P.R.I.A.*, 56C (1954), Fig. 30.

FIG. 5. Pottery: Miscellaneous. (½)

gritty pottery; both have ornament of horizontal lines, the one (11) shallow grooves, the other (12) light incisions. Light incisions forming chevrons appear also on a sherd (18) of hard red smooth ware. Two rim fragments (14, 15) undoubtedly belong to one pot though one (15) is more worn than the other. The ware is black and gritty throughout but is hard and on the better preserved fragment the surface of the rim and outside has a burnished appearance. The ornament, which consists of channelling forming a hurdle pattern with on the rim surface an arrangement of parallel diagonal lines, has its closest resemblance on a pot from Linkardstown, Co. Carlow[1] while a similar pattern occurs in the Lough Gur area on a rim from the "Spectacles."[2] The rim-form of the piece from the megalith, however, differs from these examples. Channelling technique also appears on a smooth buff sherd (16) in what may be described as an oblique hurdle pattern.

A rim fragment (19) of coarse black ware has a lattice pattern on the outside, a groove on the inside and stab-marks on the rim surface. A very close comparison is provided by a piece from the Grange circle.[3] A small sherd (20) of similar coarse black ware is thicker and has diagonal incisions and a horizontal groove on the outside and incisions on the internally bevelled rim. A combination of horizontal channels and a lattice pattern occurs on No. 23 (two fragments which join). The ware here is of good quality with a smooth surface—buff on the outside and black on the inside; the core is dark and gritty.

The sherds (19, 20, 23) described in the previous paragraph may be related to Food Vessel though not really typical of this class of pottery. The same is true of the small fragments Nos. 13 and 17 though they are thinner than normal. More nearly corresponding to Food Vessel are Nos. 21 and 22. A number of sherds which join to form the rim of a pot are illustrated in No. 21; the ware is dark and gritty and the ornament consists of stabmarks, incised lines and cog-wheel lines. Several other fragments occur (not illustrated) with similar ornament and presumably from the same pot although the colour is buff. No. 22 shows a number of sherds also of dark gritty ware and thicker than No. 21. The ornament of horizontal grooves and vertical grooves with cog-wheel impressions is typical of Food Vessel, although the rim-form is somewhat unusual. The profile suggests a Food Vessel of bowl type.

All classes of pottery were found indiscriminately throughout the excavated area—within the megalith and outside it. Beaker occurred in small amounts in both chambers as well as in the wall-filling but by far the greatest amount came from outside the structure mainly south of the west end at a high level. Class II pottery was found in both chambers and occurred outside the structure mainly in association with hearths south of the tomb. Of the small amount of Class I found several fragments came from within the main chamber, the remainder from outside the tomb. The ornamented wares dealt with under " Miscellaneous " were

[1] *P.P.S.*, 12 (1947), Pl. XI: 4.
[2] *P.R.I.A.*, 52C (1949), Fig. 23: 70.
[3] *loc. cit.*, Fig. 8: 23.

widespread, some fragments being found in both chambers and wall-filling and others coming from various places outside the structure.

Crucible

Several fragments of crucible were found in the western chamber. The only rim fragment available is illustrated (Fig. 4: 23); the interior and top of rim are pale grey, the outside a pinkish buff in colour; the clay is gritty and uneven in texture.

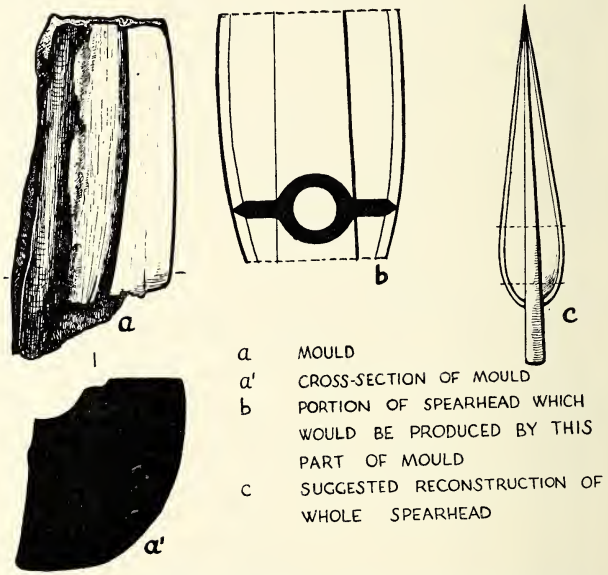

FIG. 6. Stone mould for spearhead ($\frac{2}{3}$) and suggested reconstruction

Stone

Mould (fig. 6) The most interesting stone object is portion of a bi-valve mould for casting bronze spearheads. It was found just under the sod, south of the monument, at a distance of 9′ from the west end of the south wall; its relationship with the tomb is, therefore, indefinite. Insufficient of the mould remains to allow of certainty but it appears to

have been designed to cast long comparatively narrow leaf-shaped spearheads, the greatest breadth being near the lower end. An illustration is given to show the part of the spearhead for which the available portion of the mould gives evidence and also a suggested drawing of the whole.[1]

Axe-chip. One small chip of a polished stone axe was found. It may have been used as a scraper.

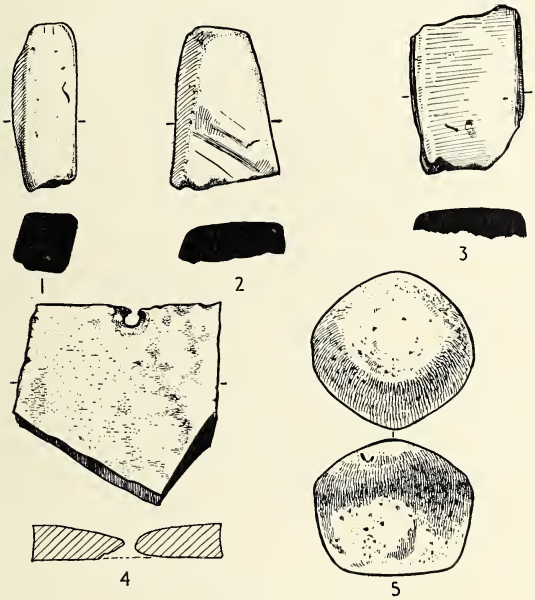

FIG. 7. Stone Objects. ($\frac{1}{2}$)

Perforated Stone (fig. 7: 4) A flat piece of sandstone has a polished surface on one face and a rough irregular surface on the other; it has broken off across an hour-glass perforation. Its purpose is uncertain.

Hammer-stone (fig. 7: 5) A stone of approximately spherical shape has flattened faces due to its use as a hammer- or rubbing-stone.

[1]Parallels are found in Evans, *Bronze Implements,* Fig. 379 (this is the well-known gold-mounted spearhead from Lough Gur); Parker and Brewis, *Arch.,* 61 (1909), Fig. 31.

Whatsones (fig. 7) Three fragments of whestones were found. One (1) is almost square in section, another (2) is irregularly broken on one side but retains portion of a very smooth surface on the other and a third (3) shows diagonal tracks from use. All are of sandstone.

Flint (fig. 4)

A small quantity of very poor quality flint was found. The majority of fragments were merely waste flakes or pebbles from which flakes had been removed. All the more formally worked pieces are illustrated (fig. 4: 24-39). Of these eight (24-31) are small round-nosed scrapers. A feature of the scrapers from the megalith is that in almost all cases they are made from portion of a small pebble by merely chipping the edges, leaving portion of the cortex of the pebble; only one example (29) shows no cortex. Most of the scrapers are chipped at one end only but No. 26 has fine steep working on all sides. A larger hollow scraper (32) is formed by secondary chipping along one side of a flake. No. 39 is a well-made perforator from which the end of the point has been broken. The remaining flints are blades of varying forms. No. 33 is well-fashioned with fine secondary chipping at the edges. The others (34-39) are the usual type of small blade as found on the excavations in the area. One quartz flake (40) is the only example of the use of this material which was frequent on the sites on Knockadoon.

Modern Objects

Modern objects found on the excavation include four iron nails, one iron wall-brad, a curved strip of iron which may possibly be from the rim of a bucket and some fragments of iron so corroded as to be unrecognisable. Fragments of clay pipe, slate pencil, glass and a piece of glazed pottery which seems to be of recent date were also found. Some of these finds came from the main chamber and from the wall-filling on both north and south—a fact that is not surprising in view of Crofton Croker's statement that the tomb had been lived in.[1]

Human Remains

The human remains were in a very fragmentary condition and the scattered state of the bones suggests that all of the burials had been disturbed. A remarkable feature of the site is the exceedingly sparse quantity of cremated bone found. Of the small amount found the only identifiable cremated remains are a proximal phalanx of the hand, found south of the tomb, and some fragments of cremated skull from the main chamber. Some small fragments of burnt bone came from the cist in the

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine* (1833, Part 1, p. 109): "An old woman had resided in it for many years and on her death the covering stones were thrown off and it was left in its present state by 'money diggers' who only found some burned bones in an old jug that surely was not worth one brass farthing."

western chamber and are probably but not certainly human. All the remaining human bones were from inhumed skeletons. The anatomist's[1] report identifies at least eight adult human skeletal remains—this estimate is based on the number of 2nd cervical vertebrae found. These all came from the main chamber of the tomb. Other adult remains came from the wall-filling and from outside the structure. There were also remains of at least four children—one newly-born, one in his first year, one between three and four years of age and one about twelve. The child burials were in the main chamber and also immediately outside the tomb.

Animal Bones

Animal bones[2] were found almost everywhere on the excavation. Ox was found in the greatest amount; it occurred plentifully in the main chamber, in the filling of both north and south walls but only once in the western chamber. A considerable amount of ox bone came from outside the structure—some from the hearths at the south of the tomb. In two instances the bones had been burnt. Pig is next in quantity and occurred in the main chamber, the western chamber, the north and south wall-filling and outside the tomb. Sheep and goat were also found but not very plentifully. Hare was well represented and bird bones occurred on all parts of the excavation. There are seven occurrences of horse bones, five of dog or wolf, two of cat, one of fox and one of badger tooth.

As mentioned above the skeleton of a young ox was found south of the tomb. It was presumably a complete burial since most of the bones were in articulation (pl. II, b), although the head was not in its natural position. It was not quite certain that the burial was ancient but Professor John McGrath (Professor of Pathology, University College, Dublin and formerly State Pathologist) has given as his opinion that judging by appearances the bones seem to be as ancient as the other animal bones from the tomb.

Dr. Kenneth P. Oakley suggested a comparison of nitrogen and ash content as a line of investigation likely to be helpful in relation to this problem of relative age. The analysis (carried out in the Microanalytical Laboratory of Dr. G. Weiler and Dr. F. B. Strauss at Oxford) were arranged for by him. The results are as follows:

	%N	%ASH
1a Bone from ox burial	1.40	82.0
2a Bone from tomb	0.91	82.1

[1] We are indebted to Professor E. Keenan, Anatomy Department, University College, Dublin, for reporting on the human remains.

[2] For the identification of the animal bones we are indebted to Miss Geraldine Roche, of the Natural History Department, National Museum.

(In relation to the tests 1a and 2a Dr. Oakley remarks that nitrogen content within a single bone is liable to vary at least as much as 0.9-1.4%.)

	%N	%ASH
1b Tooth (dentine) from ox burial	1.30	80.0
2b Tooth (dentine) from tomb	1.38	80.3

Dr. Oakley's general conclusion is that " there is nothing in the results to indicate that there is any great difference in age between the two lots ".

Charcoal

Charcoal samples from the excavation were submitted to the National Museum, Natural History Division, and Miss M. J. P. Scannell has kindly identified the following species:

Holly (*Ilex*), hazel (*Corylus*), hawthorn (*Crataegus*);

Ash (*Fraxinus*), willow-poplar (*Salix-Populus*), oak (*Quercus*);

Elm (*Ulmus*), ivy (*Hedera*), birch (*Betula*);

Yew (*Taxus*), Spindle tree (*Euonymus*), cherry (*Prunus*), alder (*Alnus*), honeysuckle (*Lonicera*).

These are arranged above in descending order of frequency. The first group of three occurred in by far the largest quantities, the second in smaller amounts but still plentifully. A few samples only were found of the species in the next group and there was one occurrence only of each of the last five species.

The samples came from various parts of the excavation—inside and outside the megalith. A large amount of charcoal was collected from the hearth north of the east end of the tomb—the specimens examined were entirely of hazel and of oak.

DISCUSSION

The Lough Gur megalith[1] belongs to the type of gallery grave to which the term " wedge " has been applied and of which two sub-types have been distinguished—called for convenience "northern " and " southern " wedges respectively[2]. In the case of the Lough Gur tomb there are not sufficient

[1] The tomb here dealt with was evidently one of a number which formally existed in the area—in the townlands of Ballynagallagh, Grillagh and Ardanreagh. See Borlase, *Dolmens of Ireland*, i, 47 (London, 1897) and O'Kelly in *N.M.A.J.*, 5 (1944), 18, 23; both authors give references to earlier literature. Borlase confuses the Lough Gur site with the one known as *Leaba-na-Muice* in Ballynagallagh townland. O'Kelly (pp. 24, 27) deals with supposed tombs and circles listed by Crofton Croker.

[2] The typology of these tombs is discussed in outline in Ó Ríordáin, *Antiquities of the Irish Countryside* (London, 1953), 62.

distinguishing features to ascribe it with confidence to the appropriate sub-type. Its geographical position—towards the south-west of the country—dictates that we should relate it to the southern group. In this connexion, however, we must consider the western feature which Mr. Ó h-Iceadha refers to above as " The Western Chamber or ' Portal ' ". The majority of the southern wedges are single-chambered and the small chamber, which occurs in a few of the tombs (notably at Labbacallee, Co. Cork and in some of the Co. Clare examples), is normally at the east end of the structure. The northern wedges, on the other hand, are characterised by an open "portico" at the western end. The question of the completion of the chamber is therefore of importance. A fallen stone which lay immediately west of the tomb could have served either as a capstone or as the upright which completed the small chamber at the west. The fill of the small chamber and the fact that it had been used for burial are in favour of its having been a completed chamber and the fallen slab was replaced as an upright at the conclusion of the excavation. The evidence of the site itself is not, however, conclusive and what appears to be a better argument is derived from the analogy of similar structures. A small group of tombs in the Kilcommon area of Co. Tipperary, which were published by H. S. Crawford[1], are of relevance. In several instances a feature related to that at the Lough Gur megalith appears to have existed at the west end of the tomb.[2] In all except one case this western portion is open; the exception (Baurnadromeeny—eastern dolmen) show it completed and the capstone in position.[3] In other respects also this tomb is the best preserved of the Kilcommon group and it is reasonably certain that the absence of a slab at the west end of the other tombs is due to interference (as is also the fact that none except the Baurnadromeeny tomb retains an eastern end-slab).

It would appear reasonable to regard the Lough Gur megalith as an outlier of the Kilcommon group which lies about eighteen miles distant.[4]

[1]*J.R.S.A.I.*, 40 (1910), 38. In the course of a recent examination of the tombs in this area one example not recorded by Crawford was discovered. It is in Knockcurraboola Commons and is about 170 yards west of the tomb dealt with by Crawford ("Knockcurraboola Commons (South)") and immediately beside the lane leading to the farmhouse of the landowner (Mr. Ryan). The remains consist of a small portion of what seems to be the west end of a gallery.

[2]Indicated by the extension of the side walls in the following instances: Knockshanbrittas (North), Knockshanbrittas (South), Knockcurraboola Commons (Northern Dolmen) and Curreeny Commons. At Lacamore a single upright west of the cross slab may be the remains of the same feature and at Loughbrack the arrangement of the side-stones suggests, somewhat doubtfully, that the narrower western portion was separate—divided by a now missing slab.

[3]The great tomb at Labbacallee, well known as an example of a wedge with eastern chamber, has suffered considerable interference at the western end where it abuts in the public road. Certainty is, therefore, not possible but there are evidences (extension of southern side wall to the west, large fallen stones) that a further roofed portion formerly existed at the western end. It seems likely that, as in Baurnadromeeny, the roof extension was carried on pillars, while low stones were used to complete the west end.

[4]The tomb at Coolaclevane, Co. Cork (Borlase, *Dolmens of Ireland*, i, 27) also appears to have a small western chamber.

Other tombs of the southern wedge group lack the western chamber of the Lough Gur megalith and its related examples; the northern wedges, however, normally possesses a portico at the west end.[1] The somewhat complicated morphological relationships of the Lough Gur megalith tend to stress the inter-relationship of the two wedge-shaped gallery groups.[2] The grave-goods give dating evidence which is consistent with that established for other wedges.[3] The occurrence of a considerable quantity of Beaker is of prime significance. The small amount of Class I implies nothing more than the survival of a Neolithic type of ware into early Bronze Age times; the Class II pottery and the " miscellaneous " sherds (including some related to Food Vessel) are not out of place as contemporaries of Beaker. In fact the whole of this material is paralleled by the pottery from the Grange stone circle, where it could clearly be shown that Beaker was contemporary with a small amount of Neolithic type pottery, with Class II and with Food Vessel and other ornamented wares similar to those from the megalith.[4] The approximate contemporaneity of the megalithic tomb and the stone circle can reasonably be argued. The only object which is not in accord with this is the fragment of a spear mould found near the tomb. If our reconstruction of the spear which would have been cast from this mould is correct, a date in the late Bronze Age would be appropriate for the mould fragment. However, as stated above, the mould was found immediately under the sod and it may have no significance for dating. The only other piece for which a late dating could be argued is the pottery fragment showing encrusted ornament (fig. 4: 11) but the chronological range of encrustation technique is too great to allow of close dating of this fragment. It is, in any case, clear that the main period of use of the tomb is early and, even if the stone mould is really associated with the structure[5] it would indicate no more than a re-use or other form of survival of reverence in late Bronze Age times; the construction and main period of use must have been in the early part of the second millenium B.C.

[1]Exemplified at the excavated tomb at Ballyedmonduff, Co. Dublin, *P.R.I.A.*, 52C (1952), 61-81. At Ballyedmonduff there is a small eastern chamber in the manner of some of the southern tombs. This tomb has curved sides, a feature which in a less marked manner appears at the Lough Gur tomb but it is not certain if this is a significant parallel or if it is due to fortuitous factors of building material and irregular rocky foundation.

[2]Dr. Ruaidhri de Valera in an unpublished lecture to the Archaeological Society of University College, Dublin, in 1952, on the problem of the Irish wedge-shaped galleries, argued the essential unity of the two groups.

[3]See brief discussion of date in Ballyedmonduff report *P.R.I.A.*, 55C (1952), 80.

[4]*P.R.I.A.*, 54C (1951), 37-74.

[5]An earlier (looped) type of spear mould was found in the Moylisha, Co. Wicklow, megalith. See G. Ó h-Iceadha in *J.R.S.A.I.*, 76 (1946), 119. The excavator believes that its position at the base of the cairn shows it to be undoubtedly primary. The pottery fragments found could well be cognate with our Knockadoon Class II which in Lough Gur lasted into Middle Bronze Age times—a reasonable date for the looped spear mould; there is no reason to postulate a Late Bronze Age date, *op. cit.*, 126.

OLD CHURCH PLATE OF LISMORE DIOCESE

By R. Wyse Jackson, *Member*

These notes deal with some of the seventeenth and eighteenth century Communion plate in the Church of Ireland Churches of the diocese of Lismore. The diocese possesses several important places not mentioned in 1949 edition of Sir Charles Jackson's standard book "*The English Goldsmiths and their Marks.*" Among them are the fine Kilkenny-made Carrick chalice and paten of 1667; and the Templemichael chalice and paten of 1640-41 bearing the rare Dublin date letter for that year. Geographically the diocese lies in a position convenient to the provincial silversmiths of the South, and so examples exist, not only of Kilkenny and Cork silver, but almost certainly, of Kinsale and Youghal silver.

AFFANE

Chalice—9½ inches high, bowl—3½ inches across, 4 inches deep, foot—4¾ inches across. Inscribed on bowl:

The Gift of Mrs. Rebeca Briscoe Widow of Temple Briscoe Esqr. who lyes intombed in Efane Church, John Atfield Vicar

In an oval lower on the cup:

For
The Service
of Almighty God
in ye Parish Church
of Efane in the Dioc-
ese of Waterford &
Lismore An: Dom
1719

Dublin silver, with crowned harp, date letter for 1715 and mark of Edward Workman of Dublin.

John Atfield was vicar of this parish from 1717-29.

ARDFINNAN

Chalice—7¼ inches high, bowl—3¼ inches across and 3 inches deep, foot—3¾ inches across. Inscription:

Hanc Calicem additio quatuor argenti unciis
Reformavit Thomas Milles S.T.P. Episcopus
Waterfordiensis & Lismorensis Ao. 1724

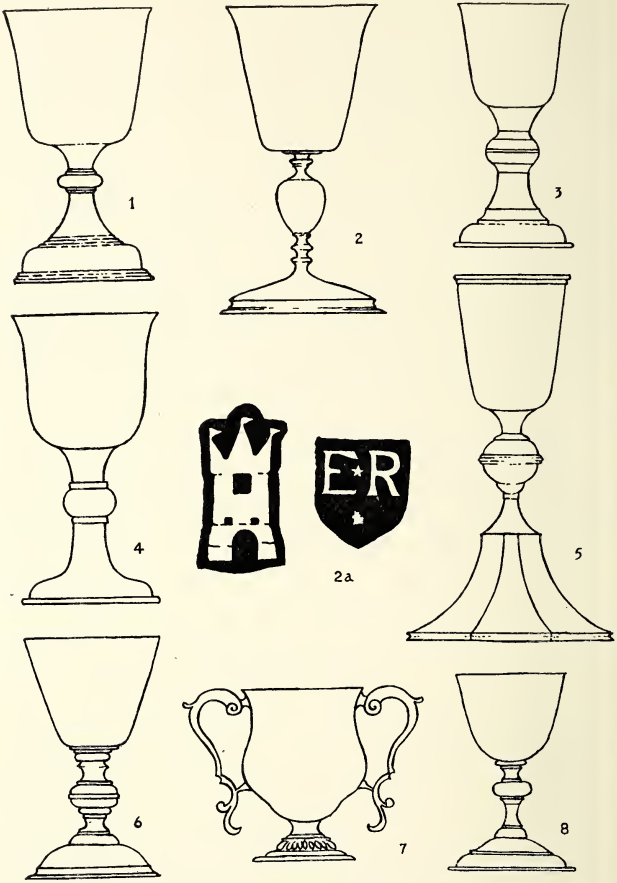

FIG. 1. (1) Churchtown; (2) Carrick-on-Suir; (2a) Carrick marks; (3) Ardfinnan; (4) Kilmeadan; (5) Killoteran; (6) Lismore, (7) Newchapel; (8) Dungarvan.

The chalice is without maker's mark, but carries the harp crowned and the Dublin date letter for 1724.

This is an interesting example of the custom of remodelling old silver which had become (as the eighteenth century put it), " out of all order and reparation ". Another example from the neighbourhood comes from Waterford, where a flagon was provided in 1851 by the dean and Chapter in exchange for a pair of silver candlesticks presented to the Cathedral in 1745.

Bishop Thomas Milles (1708-1740), who succeeded Nathaniel Foy as bishop of Waterford and Lismore, was a generous donor of communion plate to the parishes of his diocese. A High Church Tory, he was responsible for the interior arrangements of St. Olaf's Church, Waterford, to which he gave an interesting communion table in the form of a marble slab mounted on wooden cabriole legs. Paten—5 inches across, without foot, marked as chalice and inscribed:

Hanc patinam Ecclesiae de Ardfinnan donavit Thomas Milles S.T.P. Episcopus Waterfordiensis & Lismorensis Ao. 1724

ARDMORE

Chalice—7½ inches high, bowl—3¼ inches across, 3 inches deep, foot—4 inches wide.
Inscription:

Hunc calicem cum patina donavit Tho. Milles, S.T.P., Episcopus Waterfordiensis & Lismorensis. Ardmore 1726

Paten—4⅝ inches across, with similar inscription. No marks, but weight 3·10 (3 oz, 10 dwts). A note was made about these pieces by the late Robert Day of Cork and published in the Cork Archaeological Journal for 1899. Mr Day there suggested that the chalice and paten were of Youghal manufacture. However, the very close similarity in size and design to Milles' other gift of the Ardfinnan Dublin-marked chalice would seem to make this guess doubtful.

The manuscript notes on Lismore diocesan silver, made by the late Colonel Vigors, and preserved in the library of the Representative Church Body, Dublin, record in a press cutting that the Ardmore chalice was included in the sale of the effects of " the late Thomas Harper, the celebrated trumpeter, who lived in King's Road, Camden Town. Besides his favourite trumpets, which fetched high prices, the items included a fine old silver chalice . . . which sold for £16 10s." It was bought (at Sotheby's) by Robert Day and restored to Ardmore in the eighteen-nineties. How it had originally been lost to Ardmore is not known, but a charge of £3 for communion plate is shown in the parish records for 1836, and a plated chalice exists dated 1855.

CAHIR

Paten—5 inches across standing on a foot $2\frac{1}{4}$inches across. Uninscribed except for weight " $5 \cdot 15\frac{1}{2}$ ". Marks very worn; Dublin silver of 1731, maker's mark unidentifiable and almost obliterated.

CARRICK ON SUIR

Flagon—13 inches high, base—$7\frac{1}{4}$ inches across. Of Dublin silver bearing the date letter for 1710-12 and the maker's mark of David King, who manufactured the patens of St. Mary's Church, Dublin.
Inscribed:

The Gift of the Honourable Anne Countess of
Tyrone to the Church of Carrick Anno Dm 1715

She was eldest daughter and co-heiress of Andrew Rickards Esq. of Dangan, Spidogue, Co. Kilkenny. In 1692 she married James Power, 3rd Earl of Tyrone.

Chalice—with pear-shaped knop, $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches high, bowl—$4\frac{1}{2}$ inches across and $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches deep, foot—5 inches across.

The bowl is marked with two towers and E.R. twice. This is the marking found also on the chalice in Fethard Church, Co. Tipperary. Inscribed below base;

*THE * GIFT * OF * THE * DVKE * OF * ORMONDS * TROOP * TO * Ye * PARISH * OF * CARRICK * ANNO * DOMINI * 1673*

This was James Butler, twelfth Earl and first Duke of Ormonde (1610-1688). Carrick Manor House, built by the tenth Earl (" Black Tom "), was his favourite residence. The connection of this chalice with the Ormondes helps to confirm Jackson's belief that the identical marks on the undated Fethard chalice are those of a Kilkenny maker. Jackson, p. 714, says " A similar castle is found on Kilkenny tokens of circa 1657, and as a goldsmith named Edward Rothe is said to have lived in Kilkenny, 1609-24 (Collectania de Diebus Hibernia), this chalice may have been wrought by a goldsmith of that name." The Carrick chalice has a close similarity of craftmanship to the Muschampe chalice of Inchiholohan, Kilkenny, which is dated 1687.

Paten (foot missing) $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches across, made to fit as a cover, and with similar inscription and markings.

CHURCHTOWN

Chalice—8 inches high, bowl—$4\frac{1}{4}$ inches across, 4 inches deep, foot—4 inches across. Inscribed on bowl:

Ecclesiae De Churchtown in Dioecesi
Lismorensi hanc Calicem cum Patina
donavit Thomas Milles S : T : D:
Episcopus Waterfordiensis &
Lismorensis Ao Dni: 1734

Marked on base with weight " 8=4 " and a very worn maker's mark, apparently R P in script capitals within an oval, which may be the mark of Robert Potter of Cork.

Paten—5½ inches across, engraved with I H S in glory, and with a similar inscription to that on the chalice on the underside. No maker's mark.

CLONEGAM UNION

This comprises the parishes of Clonegam (Portlaw), Mothel and Guilcah, together with Kilmeadan and Killoteran, which latter two are in the diocese of Waterford, but whose silver may conveniently be described here as it is in the custody of the Rector of Portlaw.

CLONEGAM

Chalice—9¼ inches high, bowl—3½ inches across, 4¼ inches deep, foot—4 inches across. Inscribed on bowl:

This plate was given to the Church of Clonegam in 1741

Below is the weight, " 13—12 ". Dublin silver of 1739 by an unidentified maker using I.H. crowned as a mark.

Paten—6 inches across standing on a foot 2¼ inches across.

Flagon—10 inches high. Both are inscribed and marked as the chalice.

MOTHEL

Chalice—8¾ inches high, bowl—3½ inches across and 3¾ inches deep, foot—3¾ inches across. Dublin silver with the date letter for 1696-8. Inscribed on bowl:

The Gift of the Right Honble Ann Countess
of Tyrone to the Church of Mothell 1697

Paten—without foot, 7 inches across, with coat of arms in lozenge: Dublin silver of 1712-13, made by David King. Inscribed below:

Lent for ye use of ye Church at Mothill
by ye Rt Honble Ann Countess of Tyrone

Jackson points out in his "*Illustrated History of English Church Plate*" (p. 436-7), that just as " many of the Elizabethan communion plates were plain plates transferred to the Church from secular use ", so " some patens of the later part of the seventeenth century were ordinary domestic salvers similarly transferred ".

KILMEADAN

Chalice—8½ inches high, bowl—4¼ inches across and 4 inches deep,

foot—4 inches across. Dublin silver of 1719 made by Robert Pilkington. Inscribed:

Deo Dedicatur hic Calix 1722
In usum Ecclesiae
De Kilmeaden

Paten—5½ inches across, base—2½ inches across, marked as chalice, inscribed below base with weight, " 1—7 ", and

In usum Ecclesiae de Kilmeaden

Plate—8 inches across, marked as chalice, inscribed below with weight " 1—6 ", and

Donum per honblis Elizabethae Vicecomitis
de Donnrayle in usum Ecclesiae de Kilmeaden

Flagon—11 inches high, base 6 inches across marked with Dublin marks for 1729 but without maker's mark. Inscribed:

Deo
D D D
haec Lagena
ex munificentia Praehonorablis
Elizabethae Dominae Vicecomitis
Downrayl in usum Ecclesiae de
Kilmeaden
1729

The donor was Elizabeth Hayes, daughter of John Hayes of Winchelsea, Sussex and wife of Arthur St. Leger, first Viscount Doneraile.

KILLOTERAN

Chalice—of attractive design, with knop and hexagonal foot, bowl with gilded interior. Height—10¾ inches, bowl—3½ inches across, 4 inches deep, foot—6¼ inches across. Dublin silver of 1728 made by Arthur Wieldon. Inscribed on bowl:

Hunc Calicem cum Patina
Donavit Tho Milles S.T.P.
Lismorensis Ao Dni 1727

and also:

Ecclesiae
Killoteran

Paten—with gilded surface, 7¼ inches across, similarly marked and inscribed.

This is the only set of silver-gilt in the diocese. With reference to this ancient craft, an unfamiliar example may be quoted here from Healy's "*Diocese of Meath*" (Volume 1, page 55). Healy tells how in 1129 a

Limerick Norseman named Gillachomgain raided Clonmacnoise and stole . . . " a silver chalice with a burnishing of gold which had been engraved by the daughter of Rory O'Connor ". The thief tried to fly the country, but every time his ship was driven back to Ireland by contrary winds, and eventually he was taken and hanged.

DUNGARVAN

Chalice—with baluster stem, $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches high, bowl—$3\frac{1}{4}$ inches across and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep, foot—$3\frac{3}{4}$ inches across. No maker's marks. Inscribed:

The chalice for the parish of Dungarvan 1678

There is a close resemblance to the baluster stem of the 1712 Ightermorrough chalice made by Edward Gillett, Mayor of Youghal in 1721. (*Webster,* Pages 82 and 84). The geographical proximity and the pattern suggest that this Dungarvan set may be of Youghal manufacture.

Paten—without foot, made to be used as a cover, $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter. No mark, but inscribed " D " (for Dungarvan).

Plate—without foot, 7 inches across, matching chalice and paten. Unmarked. Inscribed:

Ex Dono Mariae Bucknor viduae 1678

LISMORE CATHEDRAL

Chalice—with baluster stem divided by knop, 7 inches high, bowl—4 inches across, and $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches deep, foot—4 inches across. Inscribed:

John Sargint
Isfack Giles
Church : Wardens
1663
Lismore

Paten—$4\frac{1}{2}$ inches across standing on a foot 2 inches across. Inscribed similarly below foot. Each is marked with a three masted ship (twice) and HB joined (twice). This is the unidentified Cork mark, noted by Webster (p. 7), which appears on the silver of Ballyhea and Castlemartyr, circa 1660. The ship in full sail was part of the Cork city arms, and was used by other Cork silversmiths including Robert Goble (1672-1722).

It is noted by E. C. R. Armstrong in *J.R.S.A.I.* Vol. 17, P. 91 (1907) that in 1703 the Chapter of Lismore ordered " that a flagon & other necessary utensils of silver be procured for the use of the Cathedral and choir, and that the Dean may be desired to bespeak same ". This was the Very Reverend William Jephson. The set was provided, consisting of chalice, paten and flagons.

Chalice—10 inches high, bowl—4¾ inches across, 5½ inches deep, foot—4¼ inches across. Weight—18 oz. 9 dwt. Inscribed:

Ecles Cathed: Lismor
Sacrii
Anno Domini 1705
Gul Jephson Dec

Paten—5 inches across on a foot 2¼ inches across. Similarly inscribed.

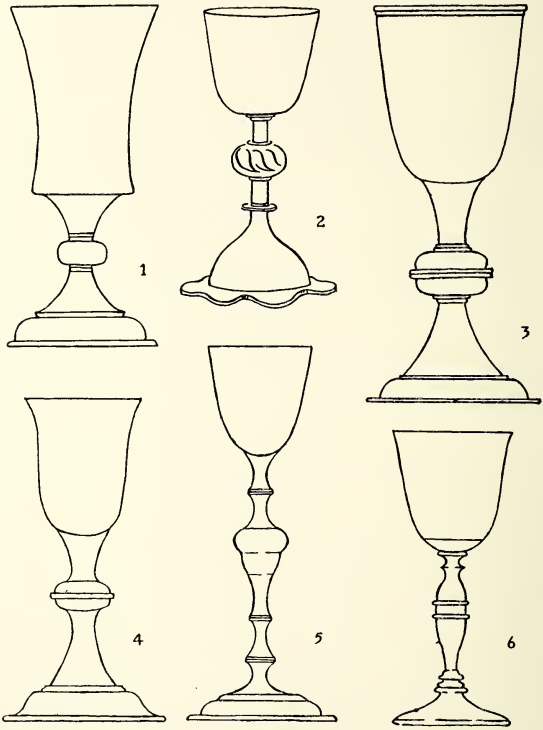

FIG. 2. (1) Lismore; (2) Templemichael; (3) Rathronan; (4) Villierstown; (5) Whitechurch; (6) Tallow

Flagons—$9\frac{3}{4}$ inches high, similarly inscribed. All these are of Dublin silver dated 1704-5 and made by Thomas Bolton, who was one of the busiest Dublin makers of this period. (It is reported that on one occasion alone he brought a 281 pound lot to be assayed.) He was a freeman of the Dublin Goldsmith's Company in 1686, Master in 1692, and died in 1736.

The verge—with a finely wrought dove, is unmarked.

NEWCHAPEL

Paten—with the arms of the family of Lyons (three lions rampant, with the motto " Noli irritare leones ".) Dublin silver of 1719-20 without maker's mark.

Two handled cup—5 inches high, not originally designed for sacramental use, of London silver of 1771-2 by Charles Woodward. Inscribed: (on one side)

This ORATION Prize
the legacy of Dr. Hooper
adjudged to RICHARD MOORE
by Trinity College Cambridge
1771

and on the other side:

Given by the said R.M.
Dean of Emly to the PARISH
of NEWCHAPEL in the Diocese
of Cashel, for Sacram, use
1809

The parish is now part of the diocese of Lismore. The Very Reverend Richard Moore was Dean of Emly 1776-1818.

RATHRONAN

Chalice—of early eighteenth century style, $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches across bowl, $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches deep, foot—5 inches across. Uninscribed, and with Dublin marks (without date letter) and Maker's mark of Thomas Williams.

Paten—$5\frac{1}{4}$inches across, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches across foot, weight 6 oz. 7 dwt, similarly marked.

SHARRAGHAN (Clogheen)

Chalice—$9\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, bowl—$3\frac{1}{4}$ inches across, foot—$4\frac{1}{4}$ inches across. Dublin silver of 1743 by Matthew Walker. Inscribed:

The Gift of Mrs Mary Callaghan Widow of
Corns Callaghan ye elder Esqr to ye
parish church of Sharraghan Novr 9 1743

Paten—$5\frac{3}{4}$ inches across, without foot, similarly inscribed and marked, but without date letter.

TALLOW

Chalice—with baluster stem, 8½ inches high, bowl—3½ inches across 3½ inches deep, foot—3¼ inches across. London marks, date letter obliterated, maker's mark AB joined, which may be that of an unidentified silversmith noted by Jackson for 1612. Inscription:

TALLOVGH : CHVRCH : 1617 :
RICHARD : NICHOLAT : IOHN : CASE :
CHVRCHWARDENS

Paten—5½ inches across, without foot, marked with leopard's head crowned (London), inscribed as chalice.

This is the oldest set of church silver in the Diocese of Lismore.

TEMPLEMICHAEL.

Chalice—8 inches high, with decorated knop and wavy seven-lobed foot. Bowl—3¼ inches across, 3 inches deep.

This is an example of what Jackson (*Illustrated History,* page 422) calls the seventeenth century " quasi-Gothic revival " and " a feeble attempt " to imitate the pre-Reformation chalice. Uninscribed.

Paten—4½ inches across standing on a 2 inch foot. Uninscribed.

Both pieces are marked with the crowned harp, the date letter " C " for 1640-41, and the maker's " E.C." with an anchor. This is the work of Edward Chadsey who made the 1639 communion cup belonging to St. Fin Barre's Cathedral, Cork.

The Templemichael chalice and paten are of historical interest, for the Dublin Company of Goldsmiths was incorporated in December 1637, and its authorised marks for the first three years of incorporation are very uncommon. Trinity College, Dublin owns a flagon with the date letter " A " for 1638 and Fethard-on-Sea, County Wexford has a chalice and paten by Thornton marked respectively " B " and " C " for 1639 and 1640-41.

VILLIERSTOWN

This parish owns a fine mid-eighteenth century set consisting of two Chalices, a paten, an alms-dish, and a flagon, all inscribed with the arms of the Earl of Grandison (title extinct 1850), ancestor of the present family of Villiers-Steward. The donor of this silver was John Villiers, the fifth Earl, who died in 1766.

Chalices—9½ inches high, bowl—3½ inches across and 4 inches deep, with knop, and standing on foot 4¾ inches across. Weight 12 oz. 7 dwt. Marked with the (unidentified) maker's mark " W.I ", and with the Dublin harp crowned and Hibernia seated, but wthout date letter.

Flagon—10½ inches high, similarly marked. Weight, 46 oz. 13 dwt.

Paten—8 inches across standing on foot 3 inches across. Weight, 11 oz. 10 dwt.

Alms Dish—11 inches across, weight 21 oz. 6 dwt., similarly marked, with the addition of the date letter for 1755.

WHITECHURCH

Chalice—of very tall shape, 11 inches high, bowl—3 inches across, 3¼ inches deep, with pear-shaped knop and standing on a foot 4½ inches across. No maker's marks. Inscribed below base with the weight, 15 oz. 2 dwt., and, in a circle:

Given by John Quarry Esqr to the Parish
of White Church 1772

Paten—4½ inches across standing on a foot 2½ inches across. Inscribed:

Parish of White Church 1772

This paten is marked with the letter " W " in an approximately heart-shaped shield. This seems to be the mark mentioned in *Jackson*, page 716, and which is found in the paten of Ringrone near Kinsale. Webster, (*Church Plate of Cork, Cloyne and Ross*) page 56, ascribes this mark to one of the Walls, Joseph or William, who worked as silversmiths in Kinsale at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Although the Whitechurch paten has an inscribed date nearly fifty years later than that of the Ringrone paten of 1725, the probability is that it is of the Kinsale manufacture.

CARLOW IN THE MIDDLE AGES

by W. F. Nugent, *Member*

BOTH the main terms in the title of this paper are possibly ambiguous. Consequently it is advisable to establish a reasonably exact definition before going on. By *Carlow* we mean much more than the mediaeval vill which developed into the modern city. In the context of this article it refers rather to the Liberty of Carlow—*Liberty* meaning the total area (including manors, forests, farms, towns, castles, etc.) held by one particular lord and enjoying certain privileges and immunities such as the exclusion of the king's officers (but not the king's writ) from its boundaries and the right to hold private courts and administer private justice.

In the latter half of the thirteenth century the Liberty of Carlow was held of the king by the Earls of Norfolk. With some small exceptions it included all the modern County of Carlow, a large part of County Wexford, and portions of land in the present-day counties of Leix and Kildare. In all it embraced a total area of about 570 square miles.

Middle Ages is essentially an ambiguous designation and the historical period to which it refers has been delineated variously by divers writers. Here, however, the matter with which we are principally concerned and the sources from which it is mainly derived confine us almost entirely to the thirteenth century with a minor excursion into pre-Norman Ireland and a brief mention of the status of the liberty in the sixteenth century.

The thirteenth-century liberty of Carlow represented approximately one-fifth of Dermot MacMurrough's former kingdom of Leinster. As a political and economic entity it was made up of the aggregate Irish estates of the family of Bigod, earls of Norfolk and marshals of England. An account of the way in which a family of Anglo-Norman barons came into possession of one-fifth of an Irish kingdom illustrates the manner in which a lack of male heirs could, according to feudal law and custom, cause the disintegration of large and profitable estates.

The story of the Norman conquest of Leinster is too familiar to warrant further recital here. Suffice it to say that when some of the initial tumult had abated Earl Richard de Clare, Strongbow, was married to King Dermot MacMurrough's daughter and was lord of the former kingdom of Leinster (except for the city of Dublin and certain other lands which Henry II had retained in his own hands). King Henry had also made it clear that he disapproved of any of his baron's trying to carve out an independent kingdom for himself in Ireland. So Strongbow held his Irish territories as a feudal tenant of the king of England with the title " Lord of Leinster ".

After Strongbow's death William Marshall became lord of Leinster. He had acquired his right to the lands and title by his marriage to Isabella de Clare, Strongbow's daughter and heiress. Earl William Marshall had five sons and five daughters. His sons failed to emulate their father in one important respect; not one of them produced a male heir to inherit and maintain Leinster as an integral unit. The daughters, however, had married well and fruitfully and there was no dearth of potential inheritors—at least thirteen of them—on that side of the family. Consequently, when William's last surviving son, Earl Walter, died without heirs in 1245 the Lordship of Leinster was broken up and divided among the five daughters or their heirs.

The partition of Leinster was officially recorded in the king's court at Woodstock on 3 May 1247. In 1246 the lands of Leinster had been in the custody of the justiciar of Ireland.[1] At the time of the partition only Matilda, the eldest of William's daughters was still alive. In 1207 she had married Hugh le Bygod, third earl of Norfolk. After his death in 1225 she became the wife of William de Warenne, earl of Surrey. Left a widow again in 1240, Matilda herself died in 1248. Her share of Leinster, the Liberty of Carlow, passed to her son by her first marriage, Roger Bigod, fourth earl of Norfolk. Earl Roger had also received through her the important and lucrative office of marshal of England as well as considerable estates in England and Wales. He died in 1270 leaving no heirs. His titles, offices, and estates went to his nephew, also named Roger, who became fifth earl of Norfolk, marshal of England, and lord of Carlow from 1270 to 1306. This paper is chiefly concerned with the administration of the liberty during his lordship.

I have attempted to work out from various sources the approximate location and size of the thirteenth-century liberty. Certain difficulties are always present in a study of this kind. There is the unhappy fact that the statistics and reckonings presented in mediaeval documents are too frequently unreliable. Also, the usage of some designative terms, such as ' acre ', is often wholly ambiguous. That particular term in its mediaeval context had no necessary relation at all to the statute acre, being employed simply to designate a unit of land varying in size from area to area.[2]

A principal difficulty for me, however, lies in attempting to correlate mediaeval Irish place names with modern ones. I have no workable understanding of Irish philology. Even if I had, difficulty would still exist because the transcription into mediaeval Latin by a scribe who probably spoke Norman French of what he thought an Irish place name sounded like is often completely fantastic. I am fortunately preserved from

[1]*Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1232-1247*, p. 488. For a detailed account of the partition of Leinster see Orpen, G. H., *Ireland under the Normans*, Oxford (1920), vol. iii, pp. 79-110.

[2]Mills, James, 'Manor of St. Sepulchre, Dublin', *ante*, Series 4, vol ix, pp. 35-6 where he finds the mediaeval acre around Dublin to be about 2½ times the statute acre. See also Otway-Ruthven, J., 'Anglo-Irish Agriculture in the Middle Ages', *ante*, vol lxxxi, p. 3 where she adduces evidence that the term was sometimes used to mean merely the individual strip of land under cultivation.

irrevocable confusion by being able to rely to a considerable extent on the work of two Irish scholars, G. H. Orpen and Eric St. John Brooks. These writers, especially the latter, have made a careful and detailed study of some of the mediaeval place names in this part of Ireland and equated them with modern ones.[3] In many doubtful cases I am able to take their equations, look up the area of the modern territory on the Ordnance Survey Maps, and thus arrive at a reasonably exact estimate of the area of the mediaeval land in question.

According to contemporary sources,[4] therefore, the Liberty of Carlow in the thirteenth century included the following territories:

a. The town of Carlow and the county.
The approximate equivalents of the modern town and county, although in this particular context the word 'county' (*corpus comitatis* in the original document) was probably meant to refer to the court of the county rather than the geographical area.

b. The town of New Ross.
Approximate in location and size to the present town.

c. The barony of Old Ross.
A fertile and productive farming area about five miles east of New Ross covering a total area of about 27,000 statute acres.[5]

d. The barony of Insula.
An area of about 16,000 statute acres situated around the area known as Great Island in the present parish of Kilmokea in County Wexford. These lands represented what was left of an original grant of some 90,000 statute acres made by Strongbow to Hervey de Montmorency.[6]

[3]Orpen, *op. cit.*, and Brooks, Eric St. John, *Knights' Fees in Counties Wexford, Carlow and Kilkenny*, Dublin (1950).

[4]*Cal Doc Ire, 1302-07*, 617, pp. 172-81); *Cal Just Rolls Ire, 1305-07*, pp. 41, 344-50; *Cal Inquis post mortem*, vol iv, pp. 290-310; patent and close rolls *passim*, and *Bigod Accounts passim*.

[5]I have taken the total number of acres at Old Ross given in the *inquisition post mortem* taken on the lands of Earl Roger Bigod in 1307 and find that by positing the acre in that area as approximately 2½ times the statute acre (see note 2, above) that the total is almost exactly the same as the area of the lands included in the limits of Earl Richard Marshall's forest of Ros in 1234. Therefore, I have tentatively identified the Barony of Old Ross as the approximate equivalent of the lands lying within the bounds of the forest of Ros in 1234. See Earl Richard Marshall's description of their bounds in Orpen's analysis of the earl's charter delimiting the forest, *ante*, vol 64 (1934), pp. 54-61.

[6]The original grant was probably comprised in the modern baronies of Bargy and Shelburne. Hervey alienated a great portion of his lands to the Templars and various monastic foundations including Christ Church, Canterbury. He became a monk of Christ Church and died leaving no heirs. See Orpen, 'The Battle of Dundonnel', *ante*, vol 34 (1904), pp. 354-60.

e. The manor of Balisax.
A detached manor of about 9,500 statute acres in Kildare lying just to the south of the Curragh.

These were the demesne lands of the earl. When one adds to them the lands within the liberty which were held in fee of the earl by other lords[7] it is possible to deduce a total extent for the thirteenth-century liberty of some 360,000 statute acres or 570 square miles.

Most of the remainder of this paper, and in fact most of my research in Ireland, is based on information derived from a series of mediaeval records which are part of the collection known as *Ministers Accounts* preserved in the Public Record Office in London.[8] The complete collection of *Ministers Accounts* amounts to several hundred rolls, one hundred of which are the accounts of the various administrative officials of the Liberty of Carlow during the lordship of the fifth earl of Norfolk.[9] They cover in detail the period between 1279 and 1289. There is a gap of four years and then we have a set of accounts for the year 1293-94. These account rolls probably came into the possession of the crown in 1302 when, as we shall see later, the liberty was temporarily in the king's hands.

The account rolls are on the whole very well preserved and have over the past 652 years managed to endure the ravages of time and handling by officials, curators, and students without serious injury. They contain in all about 190,000 words and are written in the usual mediaeval Latin 'shorthand' in hands of varying clarity on ruled parchment. They are drawn up in the normal form for manorial accounts of that period:

Arrears
Receipts
Foreign Receipts[10]
    TOTAL

Expenditures
Foreign Expenditures
    TOTAL
    BALANCE (expressed *et sic debet*)

The form, of course, is not usually so precise. In most cases, especially in the accounts of reeves of manors, there is a multitude of minor

[7]Approximately 170,000 statute acres. See Brooks, *op. cit., passim.*

[8]I have not the originals here in Dublin. Thanks, however, to Dr. Hayes's programme of collecting manuscripts (or facsimiles thereof) relating to Irish history from all over the world, I have access to a complete collection of the accounts on micro-film.

[9]SC6/1237/12 to SC6/1237/22; SC6/1237/32 to SC6/1237/55; SC6/1238/1 to SC6/1238/9; SC6/1238/24 to SC6/1238/61; SC6/1239/1 to SC6/1239/12, inclusive.

[10]'Foreign' (forinsecus) is applied to receipts or expenditures not directly connected with the internal economy of the place for which the account is rendered.

subheadings. Nevertheless, the accounts resolve themselves readily into the general format described above despite any excess of marginal headings. They vary considerably in style and content depending on the status and sphere of responsibility of the accounting official. Thus, the account of the keeper of the ferry at New Ross for the year 1284-85 contains slightly more than 100 words (written in a deplorable hand) and involves nothing more than a simple statement of the receipts and expenditures of the ferry for that year. Both are given as exactly £9 16s. 10d, allowing the accountant to strike a fortuitous balance. On the other hand the account of the treasurer of the liberty for the same year contains somewhat more than 10,000 words (in a very clear and precise hand) and presents the details of literally hundreds of items of receipt and expenditure connected with life and work on the lands of the liberty. Total receipts for that year, incidentally, are given as £1,443 9s. 9d. and expenditure as £642 7s. 1½d.

Accounting officials include the seneschal (steward) who was chief of the entire administrative system of the liberty, the liberty's treasurer, constables of castles and towns, reeves of towns and manors (the most numerous type of account), custodians of mills, keepers of meadows and ferries, and a number of lesser functionaries including the chief shepherd of the manor of Old Ross.

As far as I can make out, these accounts relating to the administration of Carlow were first looked at in any detail by the late James Mills, deputy keeper of the Public Record Office in Dublin. He seems to have come across them about 1890 while checking some other material in the London Public Record Office. Apparently he did no actual research into the original manuscripts themselves. According to an article by him in this Society's *Journal* of 1892 he directed them to the attention of Captain Philip Hore who was working nearby. Hore is principally known to us for his six-volume *History of the Town and County of Wexford,* an edition of the exhaustive compilation of records made by his father, Herbert H. Hore. According to Mills, Captain Hore made " almost a complete copy, omitting repetitions which did not supply new facts ". He did, I believe, make a fairly extensive transcription. From what I have seen, however, he is occasionally quite inaccurate and his interpretation of what constitutes " repetitions which did not supply new facts " tends to be a trifle too liberal.

The original accounts were little used by anyone else. Sweetman did not search them at all when preparing his *Calendar of Documents Relating to Ireland,* and the aforementioned article by Mills is based entirely on excerpts from Hore's transcriptions. Orpen used Hore's work at least once while preparing an article on the battle of Dundonnel.[11] The accounts are referred to by Professor Thorold-Rogers in his *Work and Wages,* for which kind of information they are extremely valuable.

As a matter of fact all the writers from Mills and Orpen to the present, when they refer to the accounts at all, base their references on Hore's

[11]See note 5 above.

published transcriptions. One major exception is Eric St. John Brooks who used the manuscripts extensively in his very useful study *Knights Fees in Counties Wexford, Carlow and Kilkenny.* However, his chief concern in that book is with discovering evidence relating to the identity and descent of holders of mediaeval lands and—in his published results at least—he approaches them with that purpose mainly in mind. He does not attempt to exploit the wealth of other material in the accounts. A study has yet to be made of the internal administrative and economic organization of the liberty making full use of the extensive and diverse information available in the Bigod minister's accounts.

In the thirteenth century the Earl of Norfolk was one of the wealthiest and most powerful barons of the realm. At the turn of the fourteenth century his income from lands alone was estimated by royal officials at £4,000 a year.[12] Since we can possibly multiply by forty to get a roughly equivalent value in modern money,[13] his income from that source alone was worth about £160,000 a year.

The Liberty of Carlow contributed about one-twelfth of his total income from lands. Royal officials estimated the annual value of the liberty at £343.[14] Actually, I have worked out the annual value from internal evidence in the accounts and make it to be somewhere between £110 and £121 greater than that figure. Be that as it may, over a period of sixty years from its inception in 1247 to its loss by the Bigods in 1307 the assessed annual value of the liberty varied only by 5s. 1½d. During that period it was administered by the local officials of the earl. Such a minute fluctuation in value over more than half a century implies the existence of an efficient, well organised administrative system. Carlow apparently had just that, a network of capable, well paid and ably directed officials supervised from a central headquarters in Carlow castle.

The Chief of the administration was the seneschal (steward) who received the rather high salary of £100 (perhaps £4,000 in modern money) a year. That amount was one-seventh of the gross income of the liberty and one-fifth as great as the sum annually paid to the justiciar of Ireland. The seneschal's fee is the greatest single item of expenditure appearing regularly in the accounts of the treasurer each year.

It would seem that a competent seneschal was well worthy of his hire. Mr. Denholm-Young has said that during the reign of Edward I the

[12]*Cal Pat Rolls, 1301-07,* p. 460. This does not include the other perquisites of his office of marshal or income from other sources.

[13]In 1920 one multiplied by fifteen to find the then equivalent of money in 1281. See Orpen, *Normans,* vol iv, p. 265.

[14]The figure of one-twelfth is borne out by Sidney Painter's statement that Earl Walter Marshall's income in 1245 was £3350, over half of which came from Leinster. (See Painter, Sidney, *Studies in the History of the English Feudal Barony,* Baltimore (1943), p. 174.). Exactly half of £3350 is £1675. Carlow represented in value approximately one-fifth of Leinster. One-fifth of £1675 is £335. The officially assessed value of Carlow was £343.

administration of private estates became a profession.[15] In any event, it had become a complex business requiring considerable knowledge, training and experience on the part of the more responsible officials. The income of the Liberty of Carlow, for example, derived from many diverse sources such as the revenues of courts, the growing and sale of grain and livestock, and the commercial activities of fairs and markets at a thriving port town like New Ross. Since a competent seneschal had to supervise and answer for the efficient conduct of these and many other activities within the liberty he had necessarily to know something of methods of accounting,[16] law and court procedure, techniques of agriculture and animal husbandry, the organization and conduct of fairs and markets, military tactics and logistics, and a host of other matters.

By the latter part of the thirteenth century we find that private as well as public administration is no longer a subsidiary occupation and virtual monopoly of the clergy. It follows then that the seneschal of Carlow is never a cleric nor is he a tenant holding his office as a fief. He is very definitely a trained and experienced layman who asked and received a good annual fee for his work. For example, Sir Philip de Bocland who was seneschal of Carlow from 1279 to 1282 had served as a royal officer and a member of the king's household.[17] In 1272 he had been appointed king's keeper of the city of Dunwich.[18] He had been a member of the households of both the fourth and fifth earls and is mentioned as seneschal of one of the earl's manors in England.[19] He audited the accounts of the liberty in 1278-79 and consequently was familiar with the conduct of affairs in Carlow when he took up his duties as seneschal. His successor in office, Sir William Cadel, was a permanent member of the earl's council in Ireland. The accounts show that he had acted as temporary seneschal on occasion while Philip was in England conferring with Earl Roger. He had been seneschal of the liberty of Kildare in 1279.[20]

It should be noted that the seneschal was an officer of the king as well as the representative of his own lord. When he assumed office he swore an oath to serve the king as well as the earl and accounted to the royal government at Dublin in all matters pertaining to the king's rightful interests within the liberty .

The seneschal's responsibilities were manifold and varied, ranging from presiding over the chief court of the liberty to travelling to New Ross to turn over lands to farmers there. A full exposition of his duties would take too much space in this paper. He was assisted in his work by a clerk

[15]Denholm-Young, N. *Seignorial Administration in England,* Oxford (1937), p. 5.

[16]Instruction in systems of manorial accounting was a regular part of the *ars dictandi* taught to laymen at Oxford in the latter thirteenth century. Ochinsky, D., 'Mediaeval Treatises on Estate Accounting', *Economic History Review,* vol xvii (1947), p. 57.

[17]*Cal Chart Rolls, 1300-26,* p. 99; *ibid., 1327-41,* pp. 50, 121, 286.

[18]*Close Rolls, 1268-72,* p. 487.

[19]Denholm-Young, *op. cit.,* p. 38.

[20]*P.R.I. rep D. K.,* 36, p. 50.

who wore the same livery as the constables of castles and received an annual fee of £5.

Generally speaking, his principal responsibility was to protect his lord's interests in all matters large and small within the sphere of his jurisdiction. Most of the seneschals of Carlow did so, occasionally exhibiting a zeal which might impress one as definitely above and beyond the call of duty or the limit of ethical behaviour. In 1285, for instance, a suit was brought against the earl in the king's court in Dublin challenging his right to possession of the manor of Old Ross. Old Ross was one of the most productive and profitable manors in the liberty and its loss would mean a serious curtailment of the earl's income. Accordingly, Gilbert de Thorntone, a prominent jurist and pleader and later a royal justice in eyre, was retained to present the earl's case. The plaintiff, one Philip de Stanton, had planned to employ the services of another forceful pleader, David of Pembroke. Sir William Cadel was seneschal of Carlow at the time. Further to ensure the success of his lord's case he instructed the treasurer to buy David off. It appears that the negotiation was successful. The treasurer's account for 1284-85 records the expenditure of £3 paid to Gilbert de Thorntone for his fee for one day in court, the earl now having won the right to hold the manor of Old Ross forever. His account for 1285-86 lists the expenditure of 25s. for one robe bought and presented to David de Pembroke, pleader, " because he did not stand against the Earl in the matter of the manor of Old Ross ". That item, incidentally, was not allowed by the auditors when they reviewed the year's accounts. Perhaps they felt that Gilbert de Thorntone could have won the case no matter who appeared for the other side. In any event, it was allowed in the account for the following year " at the urging of the seneschal ".

The officer next in rank to the seneschal was the treasurer. His annual salary was £13 6s. 8d. His main duty was to handle the funds of the liberty and all officers accounted and turned over their receipts to him. He travelled extensively about the liberty collecting rents, viewing accounts, purchasing supplies to be sent to the earl in England or Wales, collecting money to make payments on the earl's debts, etc. The purchase and distribution of the livery worn by all administrative officials above the rank of reeve was one of his duties.

Carlow, like many of the Irish liberties, maintained its own exchequer—patterned after the royal exchequer in England—where constables, sheriffs, reeves, and other officials rendered their accounts and received tallies as receipts for their payments. The seat of the liberty's exchequer was in the castle at Carlow. It was organized as a counterpart of the English exchequer and accounting was done on a *tapetum*, the chequered cloth used in mediaeval accounting from which the term *exchequer* is supposed to derive. The treasurer had judicial powers in his own court of the exchequer and imposed penalties on delinquents in the form of fines and amercements. He maintained his office and court in a wooden outbuilding within the castle wall and the treasure and account rolls were stored in the

vault of the castle. Account rolls and the money collected were first put into sacks of canvas or hide and then packed in chests (or sometimes in barrels) for safekeeping or shipment to the earl's receivers in Wales.

The lands of the liberty were extensive and far-flung and collections from relatively distant areas were facilitated by the appointment of receivers (usually some resident official) in those areas. The treasurer also took advantage of the great annual fair held at New Ross to make his collections in that area. A temporary exchequer, complete with *tapetum* costing 2d, was set up during the fair and local officials made their accounts on the spot. The treasurer was assisted in all his duties by a clerk wearing livery and receiving an annual fee of 20s.

There were at least two *narratores,* men who knew the law and were experienced in pleading cases, on the permanent staff of the liberty's administration. There is an apparent difference in rank between the two. One served as a member of the earl's council and wore the same livery as the seneschal, treasurer, and highest officers and received an annual salary of £5. The other *narrator* wore the livery of lesser officials (constables, sheriffs, etc.). I have found no record of his annual fee. Their duties were to safeguard the interests of the earl in legal matters and represent him in court as pleaders. These two are characterized by Mills as the attorney-general and prosecutor of the earl.[21]

One example of the proper exercise of their function is found in the case of the ferry at New Ross. There was a busy and profitable ferry across the Barrow at that point which terminated on the opposite shore in the town of Rosbergon. Rosbergon lay within the Earl of Gloucester's liberty of Kilkenny. On a visit to his Irish estates Gloucester saw the ferry and decided that a strict interpretation of the terms of the partition of Leinster should properly give him ownership of half the river, *i.e.* from the bank on his side to the centre of the stream. Having stated that premise, it was an easy logical development to claim a right to half the ferry. Consequently, the next time the ferry drew near Rosbergon the boat was seized and impounded in the town and the ferrymen were thrown into prison on the orders of the Earl of Gloucester. The liberty's attorney-general (accepting Mills' designation) obtained a writ of *novel disseisin* against Gloucester in the king's court. At a subsequent hearing a jury decided that sole right to the ferry and its revenues had always and should in the future belong to the lord of Carlow.[22]

The sheriff of the liberty assisted the seneschal in his military and police duties which were usually almost indistinguishable in Carlow because of the constant presence and menace of the " untamed " Irish on the borders of the liberty. He proclaimed statutes, executed writs, and in general looked after the maintenance and enforcement of law and good

[21]*Ante,* vol 22 (1892), p. 51.

[22]The interference with the ferry took place in 1293. Bigod Accounts SC/1239/9. The finding of the jury was recorded in June 1297. *Cal Just Rolls Ire, 1295-1303,* p. 126.

order within the bounds of the liberty. Writs sent to the seneschal were generally handed over to the sheriff for execution.

Carlow was a liberty possessing considerable privileges and immunities including the right to jurisdiction in its own court over all pleas except the four pleas (rape, arson, forestall, and treasure trove) reserved to the crown. However, the existence of a liberty did not exclude the king's writ, only his sheriffs who, in normal circumstances did not enter the liberty. As we mentioned before, the seneschal took an oath to the king upon assuming office and royal writs addressed to the lord of Carlow or his seneschal were first sent to the king's sheriff of Dublin who then passed them on to the seneschal of Carlow for execution. If for any reason the seneschal failed to execute a royal writ properly the sheriff of Dublin had the right to enter "notwithstanding the liberty " and see to its execution himself. This type of immunity did not, as is sometimes claimed, diminish the king's authority to any great extent although it affected his income considerably.

Each year the sheriff made his tourn of the liberty, holding his court in the principal towns and manors. He wore his lord's livery and received an annual fee of £10.[23] He was assisted in his duties by a fairly large staff which included the chief serjeant of the liberty.

The chief serjeant received no fee. On the contrary, he paid £13 6s. 8d. a year for the right to hold the office. It was, however, a profitable position and afforded the holder many opportunities to enrich himself through irregular activities. In 1287-88 Roger Talun and William Traherne (later constable of Forth and Fennagh) united to pay the annual fee and share the office. In 1288-89 William Traherne and John Russel divided the fee and, we may assume, the proceeds. In 1292-93 five sub-serjeants joined their resources to pay the annual fee for the office. In other years it was well held by one man alone.

The chief serjeant, assisted by his sub-serjeants, usually took over from the sheriff such routine duties as serving writs, choosing juries, levying fees, collecting fines and amercements, making distraints, etc. The legal and proper emoluments of the office are not clearly set forth. It is clear, however, that it was a position which lent itself admirably to extortion and bribery of every sort. A serjeant could supplement his rightful income by such irregularities as keeping portions of distrained goods for his own use, accepting payments from those wishing to avoid jury duty, and suppressing writs inimical to his own interests. Since he was quite frequently an important landholder in the liberty he could very easily have a number of interests which could be adversely affected by the writs he was supposed

[23]The sheriff in the ordinary shires received an allowance for maintenance and a fee or allowances for each of his tourns. Since the Irish liberties were organized in much the same way as ordinary shires it is probable that the sheriff of Carlow received a similar grant, although I have found no direct reference to it in the accounts. See Otway-Ruthven, J., 'Anglo-Irish Shire Government in the Thirteenth Century', *Irish Historical Studies,* vol v (1946-47), p. 13 *et passim.*

to execute. It is interesting to note that in 1280 the family of Talun managed to monopolize the two offices where irregularity was perhaps most possible and profitable. In that year Henry Talun was sheriff of the liberty and Roger Talun was chief serjeant.

The office could be a dangerous one on occasion, especially when the serjeant's duties took him to the border areas where the Irish were strong. In 1302 the serjeant of Kilkenny was sent to levy a debt on the border of that liberty. The seneschal deemed it wise to raise a relatively large and well armed force to accompany him.[24] This circumstance helps to explain the reasoning of the sheriff of Kerry in 1295 who was called before the king's court to justify his action in granting a full pardon, conferring the king's peace, and then appointing to the office of serjeant one Richard fitz John. Richard had been convicted a felon and seems to have been recognized throughout the area as a thorough-going rascal. The sheriff's principal justification for his act was that " Richard exercised the office of serjeant better than any other in those parts ".[25]

There are many references in the accounts to the fees and duties of a constable. Normally one expects to find the duties of a constable connected primarily with military and police functions, in particular with the control of the chief castle of the area and the command of its garrison. Although there was a constable at each of the five areas in the liberty where there was a large castle (Carlow, Old Ross, Fennagh, Forth, and Insula), there was also a constable of New Ross. I am not aware of the existence of any military stronghold of any great size or importance there. One also finds that the constable's duties as deduced from the accounts are very inclusive, almost indistinguishable in fact from those of officials referred to as *bailiffs of manors* at Balisax, Forth, and Fennagh. The duties of the latter were entirely bound up in the economic aspects of the manors in those areas. Constables appear as custodians of account rolls, they collect rents, buy wine to send to the earl, buy oats for seed. One account of the constable of New Ross is concerned entirely with his expenses in having the earl's meadows mowed.[26] The constable of Carlow, being resident in the headquarters of the administrative system, actually did acquire many duties such as conferring with auditors, carrying money and messages to England, and assisting the seneschal in various ways with general administrative details which were only remotely connected with military or police functions. In the Liberty of Carlow at least, the conception of the constable as an officer concerned almost exclusively with military or police affairs seems capable of revision.

The principal interests of the earls of Norfolk were, of course, in England and Wales. Consequently, the actual control of the liberty was left largely to the seneschal. I have found no evidence that the fourth earl ever visited Carlow at all, and have found definite evidence of only two visits by the fifth earl. It does not follow, however, that the lord of Carlow

[24]*Cal Just Rolls Ire, 1295-1303*, p. 397. [26]*Bigod Accounts*, SC6/1238/28.
[25]*ibid.*, p. 23.

was uninterested or prepared to countenance any irregularity or inefficiency on the part of his local officers. Carlow was a good source of income and any serious threat to its proper administration was dealt with promptly and forcefully. In 1279 a seneschal who had been running the affairs of the liberty to further his own interests and income rather than his lord's found himself faced with an unprecedented visit from the fifth earl. The seneschal, Robert Cokerel, was immediately discharged and a general reappraisal of the administrative organization seems to have followed. Under normal conditions, however, the earl exercised his control through the interchange of messengers and the annual visits of his auditors.[27] The messengers were much more than privately employed postmen, unfamiliar and unconcerned with the documents they carried. They came on specific errands about which they were well informed and frequently stayed for many weeks at a time to see the matter through. They had a certain degree of authority, although on the whole they seem to have acted through the seneschal or treasurer in matters affecting the internal affairs of the liberty. In certain instances, however, they are empowered to act with relatively independent authority in particular matters. In such cases they are usually designated *attornati* rather than *nuncii* and the matter in hand is one involving the external affairs of the liberty. The cost of their maintenance in Ireland and their passage back to England was borne by the liberty's treasury. Usually they received 2d. per day for subsistence and the passage cost 6s. 8d.

A more rigid control over the liberty was exercised by the earl's auditors who came from England or Wales. They travelled about the liberty auditing (in this case the use of *audit* is literal—they listened to the accounting official and recorded his statements) the accounts. Auditors however, had much greater responsibility than the mere checking of accounts. They had considerable authority and one finds them issuing orders even to the seneschal and treasurer. They had the power to regulate the economy of the liberty in matters large and small. One finds them ordering lands bought and sold, houses built, certain kinds of crops sowed in particular areas, and the accounts quite frequently sum up their activities by referring to their expenses in journeying to such and such a place *superindenda maneria ibidem* (to superintend the activities on the manors there).

The officials mentioned in the previous pages were the principal administrative officers of the liberty. Below them in rank were a group of lesser functionaries—reeves of towns and manors, keepers of meadows, master shepherds and holders of similar more humble positions. All officials above the rank of reeve wore the earl's livery provided at his expense. The cost of robes and furs for livery averages between £35 and £40 a year.

[27]It has been assumed that the earl's auditors made yearly visits. There is considerable internal evidence in the *Bigod Accounts* that the accounts of the liberty occasionally went for long periods without external audit, in one instance for at least four years. I hope to develop this point in detail after some further research.

Two sets of livery were provided each year, winter robes and furs at Christmas and summer apparel at Whitsuntide.

The seneschal, treasurer, members of the earl's council and the senior *narrator* wore robes of fine and expensive material lined with satin. The cloth cost from 4s. to 6s. a yard and it cost 14s. to line each robe. Usually they wore furs of squirrel and hoods of miniver which cost anywhere from 5s. to 10s. apiece. In summer they wore silk or linen hoods. The total cost of a robe for one of these officers was between 45s. and 50s. Officers of lesser rank (constables, sheriffs, etc.) wore robes of less pretentious cloth costing from 20s. to 25s. for each robe. Their furs were either rabbit or lamb and cost about 2s. 4d. each.

I have found relatively few references to the native Irish as part of the liberty's administrative system. None of the officers above the rank of reeve has what seems to be a truly native Irish name. Some of the local Irish chieftains were kept amenable by being included on the liberty's payroll in nominal and usually unexpressed capacities. Payments of £13 6s. 8d. (the same as the treasurer's annual fee) were made to Art MacMurrough " for his fee " and are recorded in the same section of the accounts which lists the annual fees of the seneschal, treasurer and higher officials. However, the account of the treasurer for 1280 lists the annual payment to Art under the headline *dona* (gifts), probably a more precise designation. Another of the MacMurrough family, Moriardagh, received an annual fee of 33s. 4d. Tighe O'Lorkan was appointed keeper of the earl's forests at a salary of 6d. a week. He was later killed and Maurice O'Lorkan took over his position at 1s. a week.

The betaghs, Irish counterparts of the English villein, were still on the lands of the liberty but references to them are few. One may suppose that in any event it made no practical difference to their way of life or prospects whether a MacMurrough king or a Bigod earl held the lands of Carlow.

One interesting item appears regularly in the accounts of the treasurer. A group of from three to half a dozen men with unmistakably Irish names are entered as paying small sums each year (6d. to 2s.) *pro advocatione habendo* (for having *advocatio*). *Advocatio* in its most prevalent usage in this period refers to advowson, the right to presentation of a church. In this context, however, I believe it can best be translated as *protection*. It is apparently the local equivalent of a system prevalent in the Palatinate of Chester at the time whereby an undistinguished and vulnerable native inhabitant might commend himself to the Anglo-Norman occupiers and become the man of the nearest powerful lord.[28] In return for a small annual payment in money or kind the man receiving *advocatio* was protected by the lord's power from any arbitrary injury to his person, seizure of his goods, or interference with his means of livelihood.

Earl Roger Bigod had one of the highest incomes of any baron of the realm. At the turn of the century his income from lands alone was

[28]Stewart-Brown, R., 'The Advowries of Chester', *English Historical Review*, 1914, pp. 41-45.

estimated by the crown at 6,000 marks a year (about £160,000 in modern money). This did not include the revenues of his office as marshal of England or income from any other sources. In 1302 he had no children. His brother, Sir John Bigod, was recognized as his sole heir. Then, quite unexpectedly, Earl Roger granted all his titles, honors, estates, goods and chattels—all his earthly possessions save for a few manors worth £1,000 a year—to Edward I and received them back to be held by him in fee tail. That meant in essence that if he died without leaving any heir of his body everything would revert to the king.

Earl Roger Bigod was fifty-eight or fifty-nine years old in 1302. In two previous marriages he had produced no offsprings. These two circumstances combined made the possibility of any heirs rather remote. Since his brother John had been definitely excluded from succession by the terms of the agreement with Edward I, it was a practical certainty that the titles and lands of the Bigod family were going to revert to the crown in a relatively short time.

Earl Roger's reasons for taking such a drastic action are something of a mystery. A contemporary chronicler says that he had a quarrel with his brother and did it simply to spite him.[29] Most modern scholars are disinclined to take that story seriously. The most reasonable explanation of those I have seen is offered by Sir Maurice Powicke.[30] His hypothesis is that Roger was seriously in debt to the king and others and was forced to that expedient in order to save himself from serious trouble and disgrace. I have traced this matter through the sources at some length and find that the total extent of his debts to the king, to fellow barons, and to Italian merchant bankers was considerable. His debt to the king alone amounted to about £20,000 (approximately £800,000 in modern money).[31]

The practice of letting manors to a debtor who could subsequently appropriate the revenue until a debt had been satisfied was a recognized and accepted device in mediaeval England. To grant one's entire worldly possessions to a strong king and then accept them back to be held in fee tail was a much more serious matter. For such a step to be taken by a man of almost sixty years with a record of apparently demonstrated infertility in two marriages was just short of fatal. In any event, Earl Roger Bigod took it. In return Edward I absolved him from all debts due to the crown—past, present, and in some cases future.[32]

Roger Bigod died in December 1306. To no one's great surprise there were no surviving heirs of his body. His estates, including the Liberty

[29]Walter of Hemingburgh, vol ii, pp. 223-24.

[30]Powicke, F. M., *Henry III and the Lord Edward,* Oxford (1947), vol ii, pp. 704-05.

[31]*Cal Pat Rolls, 1301-07,* p. 31.

[32]*Cal Pat Rolls, 1301-07,* p. 317.

In at least one instance the amnesty from debts to the crown seems interpreted to include future obligations. In October 1305 Roger incurred a fine of £500 to be pardoned for a trespass. He was granted the pardon by royal writ but no payment was exacted, the writ stating that 'if he have an heir of his body the king and his heirs will betake them to that heir for the said fine of £500 and the earl pay nothing thereof. *Cal Fine Rolls, 1272-1307,* pp. 527-28.

of Carlow were held by the king until 1312. In that year they were granted along with the Norfolk title by Edward II to his half-brother, Thomas Plantagenet, called *de Brotherton*. From him they passed through the families of Seagrave and Mowbray until the fifteenth century when they became the property of the Howard family, the present dukes of Norfolk and marshals of England.

The title " Lord of Carlow " was a concomitant of the Norfolk title until 1537. During the rebellion of " Silken Thomas " Fitzgerald, earl of Kildare, in 1534 Carlow had been a stronghold of the " wild Irishry, being mortal and natural enemies to the kings of England and to the English dominion. Quite understandably, Henry VIII was completely out of sympathy with noble landlords who " being Absentees . . . allowed (their lands) to fall into the hands of the Irish or made leases of their holds and manors to the late Earl of Kildare ". In 1537 the *Act of Absentees* was enrolled vesting the lordship of the Irish estates of absentees, including Carlow, in the king of England.[33]

[33]*Act of Absentees*, 28 Henr VIII, c. 3, cited by Prendergast, J. P., 'The Plantation of the Barony of Idrone', *ante*, vol 5 (1858-59), pp. 407-08. This act cannot be properly construed as an isolated incident directed solely at the Irish liberties. It was in line with the general policy of Henry VIII to increase the power of the Crown. For example, in the previous year "An Act for the recontinuing of certain Liberties and Franchises heretofore taken from the Crown" (27 Henr VIII, c. 24: *Statutes of the Realm*, iii, 555) had been promulgated claiming for the Crown a great number of the privileges and immunities enjoyed up to that time by the great English liberties. See Tanner, J. R., *Tudor Constitutional Documents*, Cambridge (1930), pp. 352-53.

A TRACKWAY IN CORLONA BOG, Co. LEITRIM

By P. TOHALL, HL. de VRIES and W. van ZEIST

(*Editor's Note*—Radio-carbon examination indicates ca. 1450 B.C. as the age of a timber from this trackway, in which the standard of carpentry is high. Study of the bog indicates a Bronze Age date for the trackway.)

THE TRACKWAY

By P. TOHALL, *Member*

The trackway may be located on O.S. 6″ Sheets Leitrim Nos. 27 and 28 (fig. 1). The structure, which is about one kilometre in length, crosses a raised-bog, from which large quantities of peat have been cut away. The western end is in the townland of Corlona, whence it runs east-south-east

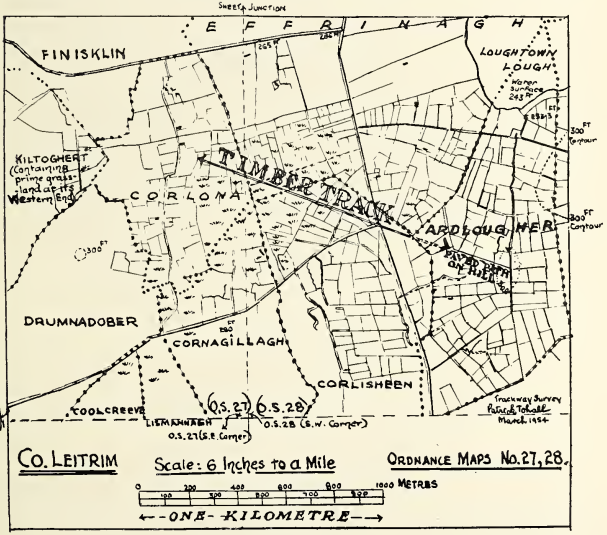

FIG. 1.

through the townlands of Corlisheen and Effrinagh into Ardlougher Td. A section of the trackway survives below the road junction in Corlisheen Td. A paved pathway running uphill in Ardlougher Td. continues the line of the trackway. This pathway, which forms a boundary between the modern small-holdings on either side, preserves a portion of this ancient route in use to this day.

Corlona lies where two geographical regions meet.

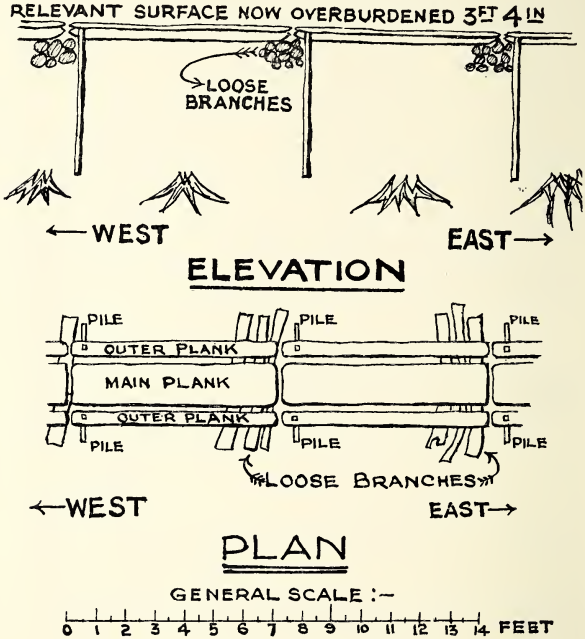

FIG. 2. Trackway: Plan and elevation.

The Limestone Zone. Apart from marginal lands, the district to the west of the trackway (in the parishes of Kiltoghert and Kiltubrid) consists of shallow grassland mixed with stretches of loam, constituting an ' Area of Easy Settlement '. It is dominated by the knoll of Sheemore (alt. 180 m.),

on which lies a group of three circular cairns, so far unexplored. This fertile district forms a salient where the grassy plain of east Connaught extends east beyond the River Shannon. North of Sheemore similar country swings eastward through Keshcarrigan, and crops up intermittently as at Fenagh, Co. Leitrim on into Co. Cavan at Newtowngore. Despoiled gallery-graves occur on many of the outcrops.

The Riascán Zone. To the east of the Trackway (in Annaghduff parish) lies a complex of drumlins composed of deep sticky clay (daub or 'gumbo'—Gaelic *ríascán*).

Historically this area lies in Magh-Nis, one of the two Mag Raghnaill Lordships. The 'Downe Survey' map of 1654 names the site as 'Aghmoytrusten etc.'. Possibly this may have been 'Achai-magh-

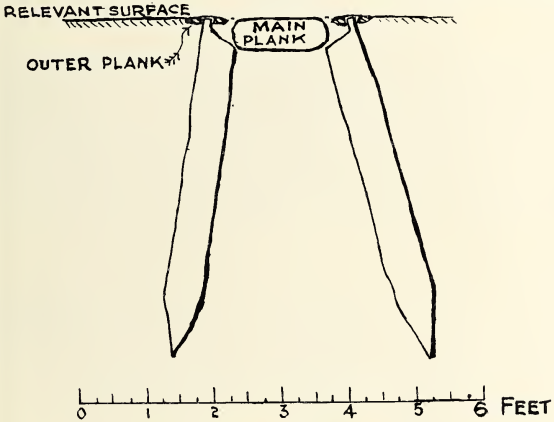

FIG. 3. Trackway: cross section

dtrostan', that is 'The field of the plain of the props'; but the final word may be 'Trostain'—a man's name. At that time the large rough farm lying to the west was owned by 'Owen McCollerorey' (presumably Mac Colreavey—Mac Colriabhai). To the east two farms adjoined, the southern one belonging to 'Geoffry Reynolds', also a substantial holder.

The bog is divided into a network of peat-plots, each of which has provided fuel for the home of a local small-holder for many years. The bog is now almost worked out, except for one solid block which still survives in the townland of Corlona. Though the trackway was buried below one metre of peat, it was so straight that the peat-cutters could locate it easily. The trackway is built up of planks laid longitudinally and supported by piles (fig. 2 and 3).

RADIO-CARBON AGE DETERMINATION

By HL. de VRIES

A sample of timber from the trackway was examined in the Physical Laboratory of the State University, Groningen, Holland. Radio-carbon estimation gave an age of 3395 $\pm$ 170 years, that is 1440 $\pm$ 170 B.C.

A PALYNOLOGICAL STUDY OF CORLONA BOG

By W. van ZEIST

(Institute for Biological Archaeology, State University, Groningen—Holland)

Method

The peat samples sent to me by Mr. TOHALL were prepared for pollen analysis according to the method described by FAEGRI & IVERSEN (1950, pp. 62-3). In contrast with the usual method *Corylus* is included in the tree pollen sum (Σ AP). Although JESSEN (1949) and MITCHELL (1951) in their papers on Irish quaternary deposits did not include *Corylus* in the tree pollen sum it is not difficult to compare the Corlona diagram with their results as the course of the curves is not greatly altered by including *Corylus* in the Σ AP. Usually 500 tree pollen were counted in each sample.

Stratigraphy

As only a set of peat samples at 6 cm. intervals—each sample containing about 12 cc. of peat—was available, it was not possible to carry out a very detailed examination of the stratigraphy. The borders between the various stages of peat formation are somewhat arbitrary.

0- 8 cm.	fresh *Sphagnum imbricatum* peat with some *Carex* roots
8- 16	*Eriophorum* peat
16- 75	fresh *Sphagnum imbricatum* peat with some *Eriophorum, Carex* and *Calluna*
75- 82	highly humified *Sphagnum* peat with *Calluna* and *Eriophorum*
82- 93	highly humified *Calluna* peat
93- 98	highly humified *Eriophorum* peat

Trackway

98-118	rather fresh *Sphagnum imbricatum* peat
118-125	moderately humified *Sphagnum palustre* peat with much *Calluna*

[To face page 80

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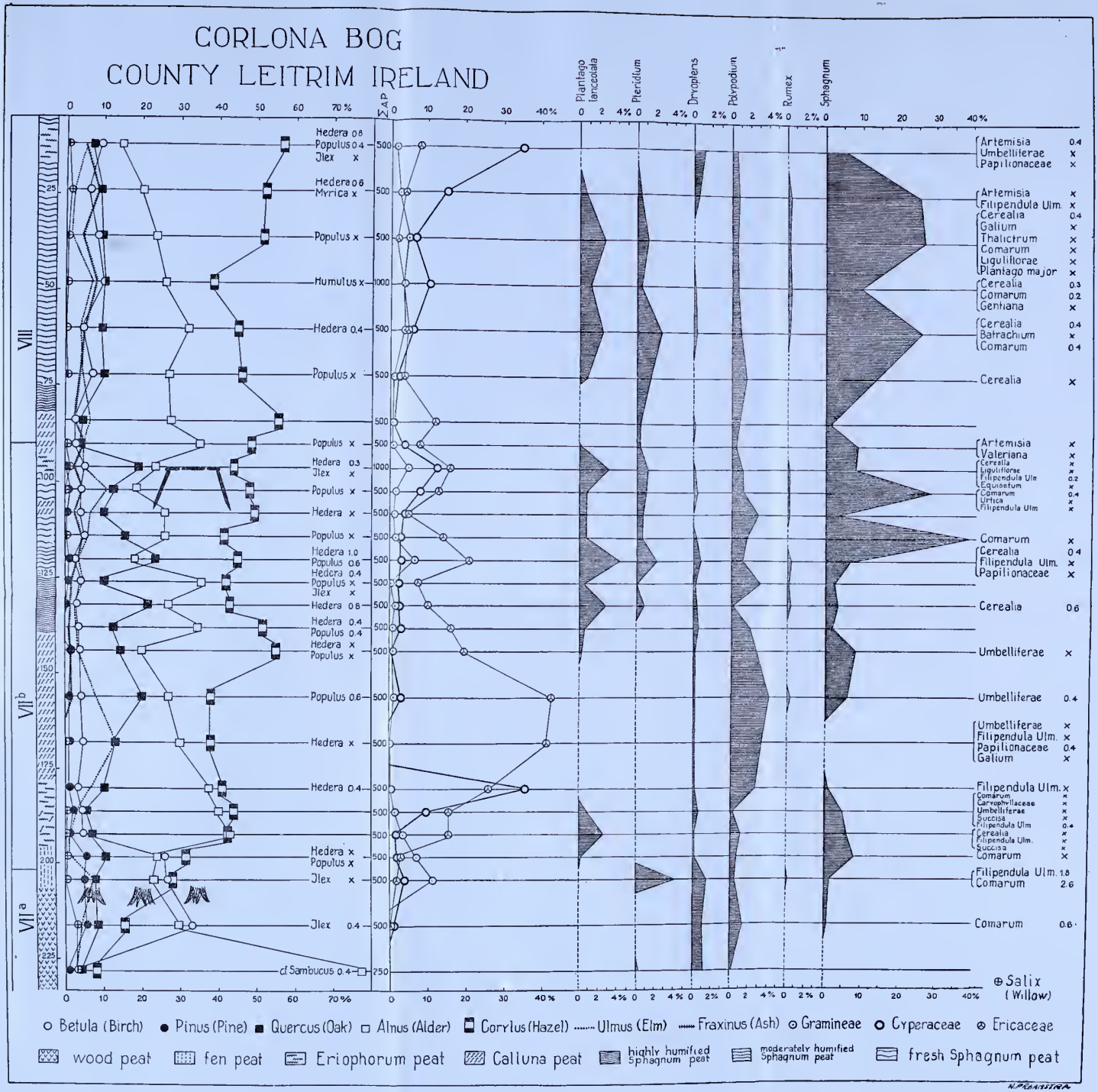
CORLONA BOG
COUNTY LEITRIM IRELAND
Σ AP
Plantago lanceolata
Pteridium
Dryopteris
Polypodium
Rumex
Sphagnum
VIII
VII b
VII a
Hedera 0.8
Populus 0.4
Ilex x
Hedera 0.6
Myrica x
Populus x
Humulus x
Hedera 0.4
Populus x
Populus x
Hedera 0.3
Ilex x
Populus x
Hedera x
Populus x
Hedera 1.0
Populus 0.6
Hedera 0.4
Populus x
Ilex x
Hedera 0.6
Hedera 0.4
Populus 0.4
Hedera x
Populus x
Populus 0.6
Hedera x
Hedera 0.4
Hedera x
Populus x
Ilex x
Ilex 0.4
cf Sambucus 0.4
Artemisia 0.4
Umbelliferae x
Papilionaceae x
Artemisia x
Filipendula Ulm. x
Cerealia 0.4
Galium x
Thalictrum x
Comarum x
Liguliflorae x
Plantago major x
Cerealia 0.3
Comarum 0.2
Gentiana x
Cerealia 0.4
Batrachium x
Comarum 0.4
Cerealia x
Artemisia x
Valeriana x
Cerealia x
Liguliflorae x
Filipendula Ulm 0.2
Equisetum x
Comarum 0.4
Urtica x
Filipendula Ulm x
Comarum x
Cerealia 0.4
Filipendula Ulm. x
Papilionaceae x
Cerealia 0.6
Umbelliferae x
Umbelliferae 0.4
Umbelliferae x
Filipendula Ulm. x
Papilionaceae 0.4
Galium x
Filipendula Ulm. x
Comarum x
Caryophyllaceae x
Umbelliferae x
Succisa x
Filipendula Ulm 0.4
Cerealia x
Filipendula Ulm. x
Succisa x
Comarum x
Filipendula Ulm. 1.8
Comarum 2.6
Comarum 0.6
⊕ Salix (Willow)
Betula (Birch)
Pinus (Pine)
Quercus (Oak)
Alnus (Alder)
Corylus (Hazel)
Ulmus (Elm)
Fraxinus (Ash)
Gramineae
Cyperaceae
Ericaceae
wood peat
fen peat
Eriophorum peat
Calluna peat
highly humified Sphagnum peat
moderately humified Sphagnum peat
fresh Sphagnum peat
N. PRANSTRA

FIG. 4

125-140	highly humified *Sphagnum* peat with *Calluna,* the latter dominating in the upper part of this stage
140-178	highly humified *Calluna* peat
178-195	highly humified *Eriophorum* peat with *Calluna*
195-205	fen peat, for the greater part consisting of small *Gramineae*
205-230	wood peat—PINE STUMPS

The non-tree pollen curves show a high degree of correspondence with the stratigraphy. In the wood peat stage the percentages of *Ericaceae* and *Cyperaceae* are very low. The pollen of *Gramineae* has a maximum at a depth of 204 cm. in the fen peat stage where also *Comarum* reaches its highest value (2·6 per cent). In the *Eriophorum* peat (178-195 cm.) the pollen of *Cyperaceae* shows a maximum giving place to high values for *Ericaceae* in the *Calluna* peat stage. In the upper part of the profile the non-tree pollen curves equally are in accordance with the peat stratigraphy as easily can be seen in the diagram (fig. 4).

Forest Development

The zonation established by JESSEN (1949) and MITCHELL (1951) for Irish diagrams is indicated on the left side of the diagram.

As the pollen content of other bogs in the immediate vicinity of Corlona bog has been influenced by local circumstances, the diagram of the bog from Treanscrabbagh (MITCHELL, 1951, No. 77) is chosen for comparison although in this diagram there is some difficulty in placing the VII^{b}/VIII transition.

As already mentioned the lower part of the peat section investigated consists of wood peat, and therefore the corresponding part of the pollen diagram is not very reliable. In the lowermost sample *Alnus* has a high percentage which is in agreement with the remains of *Alnus* wood in this sample. In the upper layer of the wood peat stage *Betula* also plays an important part, and in the fen peat stage the *Betula* percentages remain high. From 195 cm. upwards the diagram is no longer influenced by local conditions.

On account of the local character of the pollen rain the VII^{a}/VII^{b} transition is not so clear as it is in some diagrams. I prefer to place this transition at a depth of about 200 cm. because there *Ulmus* and *Pinus* show a marked decrease.

It is difficult to determine the exact position of the VII^{b}/VIII transition. At a depth of 125 cm. a recurrence surface can be seen. As, however, *Quercus* shows high percentages above a depth of 125 cm. it is not likely that this recurrence surface coincides with the VII^{b}/VIII transition. At a depth of about 90 cm. *Quercus* shows a sharp fall. According to MITCHELL (1951) this decline of *Quercus* is characteristic of the beginning of zone VIII. The fact that above a depth of 100 cm.

Pinus no longer forms a continuous curve also points to the end of subzone VII^b at a depth of 90 cm.

It is a pity that the Irish diagrams published up till now do not show a curve of *Fraxinus*. In this diagram the Ash appears in the middle of subzone VII^b, and reaches relatively high values in zone VIII. Judging from this diagram in Ireland *Fraxinus* appears later than in Denmark and the Netherlands. Pollen of *Hedera* (Ivy) and of *Populus* (Poplar) occur fairly regularly although always in low percentages. Without discussing the difficulties of separating pollen grains of *Corylus* and *Myrica* it can be mentioned that I found only one distinct pollen grain of *Myrica* at a depth of 24 cm.

Indicators for human activity

The first clear indication for agriculture was found at a depth of 192 cm. where *Plantago lanceolata* shows its first maximum. MITCHELL (1951) reports that in the diagrams from the Carrowkeel district, Co. Sligo, pollen grains associated with agriculture appear at a short distance above the VII^a/VII^b transition. This appearance should correspond with the discovery of a sherd of western Neolithic pottery at Dunshaughlin immediately above the VII^a/VII^b transition (MITCHELL, 1940) and with the record of impressions of *Triticum* and *Hordeum* seeds on Neolithic pottery from Co. Antrim (JESSEN & HELBAEK, 1944). The early *Plantago* maximum above the VII^a/VII^b transition provides a reliable indication for a Neolithic culture in the vicinity of Corlona bog.

After this Plantain maximum this culture indicator completely disappears until a depth of 140 cm. Between 95 and 140 cm. this weed has comparatively high values (3-4 per cent).

The correspondence between the curves of *Plantago* and *Pteridium* (Bracken) is conspicous. This is easily understandable as *Pteridium* prefers forest borders and open patches, which are common after forest clearance for agricultural purposes.

Pollen of *Cerealia* occurs rather irregularly—and only in low percentages—in those samples which also contain other pollen grains associated with agriculture. Only a few pollen grains of *Artemisia* (Mugwort) were found. In this diagram *Rumex* (Sorrel) is not a reliable indicator for agriculture. Although in mud (*gyttja*) samples (*cf.* IVERSEN, 1941) the occurrence of *Rumex* pollen is an indicator for human activity, this is not always so with peat samples as *Rumex* can have formed part of the bog vegetation. Thus in some samples I found *Rumex* pollen; though other culture indicators were absent.

The position of the Corlona trackway in the diagram

The Corlona trackway lies at a depth of 95 cm., that is just below the sharp fall of *Quercus*. As the Bronze Age presumably coincides with the

upper part of subzone VIIb and the first part of zone VIII, this trackway has to be assigned to Bronze Age people.

It is interesting to compare the peat deposits above the trackway with the deposits above the trackways in the Somerset Levels described by CLAPHAM & GODWIN (1948). These authors found that those trackways "are overlaid by the deposits of a flooding episode which in every instance culminated in euthrophic *Cladium* sedge fen". Before this *Cladium* stage had been reached the peat deposits consisted of highly humified *Eriophorum* and *Erica-Calluna* peat. The cause of this flooding must have been an increase of rainfall, and the *Cladium* peat is due to the particular topography of the Somerset Levels. It is not unlikely that in the Corlona bog also an increase of rainfall compelled the inhabitants to build the trackway the peat surface becoming too wet. For we find here the same deposits—except the *Cladium* peat—above the trackway as CLAPHAM & GODWIN did.

It is a striking fact that *Plantago* which shows comparatively high values in the peat below the trackway disappears almost immediately above the trackway. It was perhaps the increase of rainfall which after some time compelled the people to give up the vicinity of the Corlona bog, for the soil may have become too sticky for their primitive agricultural implements.

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THE ARTHUR CROSS

By J. Hunt, *Member*

IN addition to the O'Dea Mitre and Crozier, there is another treasure in the possession of the See of Limerick which is relatively unknown.[1] This is a standing altar cross of silver-gilt, known as the Arthur Cross (pl. VI). It has an inscription in Latin engraved underneath the base (pl. VII), which being translated reads "Richard Arthur, Bishop of Limerick, caused this cross containing very ancient fragments of the most Holy Cross of Christ to be made, through the generosity of Joanna Fox, widow; James Lange and others, in the year 1625 ".[2]

Near the back edge of the base is a second inscription giving the name of the maker, Phi Lyles, fecit, with a number, 49. This may perhaps be the weight of the cross. Nothing is known of the maker, nor can I find the name recorded as a silversmith of Limerick at this period. Mr. Dudley Westropp informs me that the related forms of Leyles, Lewles and Lawless, occur among the names of silversmiths in Cork and Youghal between 1600 and 1625. There is, however, no Philip recorded amongst them. This inscription is not engraved like the longer one above, but is pointillé, that is, written with a series of punched dots.

The cross stands on a stepped pedestal with a socket from which it can be lifted out. In form, it is of the so-called Archiepiscopal or double-armed shape, which is traditional for reliquaries containing fragments of the True Cross. At the centre of the crossing of the upper arms is the relic, a small wooden cross with a footpace (pl. VIII).

The front is decorated with scenes and foliate scrolls, apparently in coarse repoussé work, while the back and sides have a simple repeated pattern.

The figure is of cast silver and gilded. It is well modelled and is a finely made and accomplished piece of sculpture of the general style current in Europe at the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th centuries. Below the feet is a skull and crossbones, no doubt representing the bones of Adam, a favourite iconographical usage at this date.

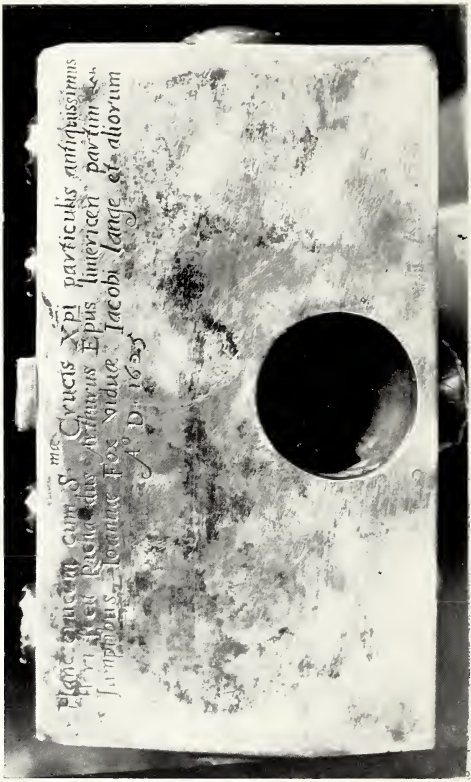
The stepped pedestal is plain, and is decorated with a number of jewels,

[1]Rev. J. Begley. *The Diocese of Limerick in the 16th & 17th Centuries.* 1928, p. 441 and frontispiece.

Catalogue of the Limerick Holy Year Exhibition. 1950. No. 5. Rev. M. Moloney. "Richard Arthur, Bishop of Limerick 1623-1646" in *The Commemoration of the Siege of Limerick.* 1951, p. 47.

[2]".—Hanc crucem cum S *mae* Crucis XPi particulis antiquissimiis fieri fecit Ricardus Arthurus Epus Limericen partim sumptibus Ioannae Fox viduae Iacobi Lange et aliorum Ao. D. 1625."

The Arthur Cross



Inscription beneath base

fourteen on the front and three on the back. There are also four jewels on the cross itself.

At first glance, the cross is obviously seen to be a rare 17th century example of the work of an otherwise unknown Irish silversmith, possibly a Limerick production, and interesting from its associations with a great and remarkable prelate. But when we study it, it immediately becomes clear that it has other claims to our interest.

The transverse arms are decorated with a foliate design which may well be early 17th century in date, but the scenes on the upright stem of the Cross are of quite another character. They are partly obscured by the figure and the Cross fragment, but a series of three scenes can be made out. They are plainly visible when the figure is removed. The compositions are enclosed by niches with spandrels containing trefoils, supported on columns. The series is repeated three times, and the style, although crude, is quite evidently gothic (pl. IX).

The method of manufacture of the cross is most interesting. It appears to be a normal repoussé production of thin silver plate, such as was commonly fixed to a wooden core, but it is actually made of thick cast plates forming a cross-shaped box, the front and back of which are held together by knobbed screwpins in the ends of the arms.

The scenes on the upright are :—

1. The Birth of Christ: (plate IX, *a*)
   The Virgin and Child with St. Joseph. The ox and ass with the manger decorated with gothic tracery on the sinister side, a twisted candle (?) on the dexter; stars in the background.

2. An unusual scene: Nativity (?) (plate IX, *b*)
   A woman and child in an elaborate bed with a half-drawn curtain hanging from a rod. A figure is seated, apparently stirring a pot over a fire.

If this interpretation is correct, it resolves itself into a second scene of the Nativity of Christ. The iconography is quite common in European art in the 14th and 15th centuries and derives from one of the Apocryphal gospels. It would be most unusual, however, for two different Nativity scenes to occur together, and it has occurred to me that it might be intended for the birth of St. John the Baptist with St. Elizabeth in bed. The figure in the corner would then represent Zachary writing the name John. It is just possible that it represents the birth of the Virgin, but the seated figure would be unusual here. There is more usually an attendant bathing the child.

3. The Flight into Egypt: (plate IX, *c*)
   On the dexter side, the Virgin is seated sideways on the ass, holding the Holy Child in swaddling clothes diagonally above the ass's neck. On the sinister, St. Joseph with a staff over his shoulder leads the animal by a rein.

The whole treatment and iconography of these scenes is gothic in character and completely out of keeping with the date on the base, 1625.

The two Nativity scenes are obviously closely related to the late medieval series common in Europe. The " Flight into Egypt " also follows the usual iconographical European tradition of the time. There is a representation of the same scene on the 15th century font at Clonard, Co. Meath, which may be compared with it (pl. X) The close resemblance of the position of the swathed Child, the rectangular panel formed by the dress of the Virgin with its V-shaped central fold and the line of Her right arm, misunderstood in the silver relief, are all so close as to point to some common or related source for both.

There are two possible explanations of the problems of this decoration. The first is that the scenes, which are admittedly crude, are archaistic. The second is that the silversmith had some earlier repoussé objects, from parts of which he made castings by means of squeezes or impressions. The second alternative seems the more likely one, as there is further evidence of the re-use of some older object in the form and setting of the jewels which decorate the cross and footpace. The stones are cut en cabochon, and are set in high collets, some with shaped and decorated edges and with claws to hold the jewels. They are surrounded by mouldings made from milled wire.

Closely comparable settings are used on the Limerick mitre. Here again are the stones cut en cabochon, with high collets and the surrounding milled mouldings. So like indeed are they that it would be attractive and reasonable to suggest that they were made in the same workshop.

The central heart-shaped setting on the middle step of the base (pl. XI) contains a jewel evidently different from the others on the cross. It is not of stone or paste, but is a small heart-shaped enamel, in basse-taille technique, bearing a coat of arms, " azure, semée of fleur-de-lis or," for France, Ancient. In this type of enamel, a silver ground was prepared by engraving in the manner of " bright cutting ", and the object was then enamelled in translucent colours, so that the design on the ground showed through and reflected the light. It was a favourite technique in the 14th and early 15th centuries, and we have to look no further than the O'Dea Crozier for an Irish example.

The Ancient arms of France, with the azure field semée of fleur-de-lis was altered for a coat bearing three fleurs-de-lis only, by Charles V of France about 1366, but in the arms of England the Ancient French quartering, originally assumed by Edward III, persisted as semée until it was discarded for the later charge of three fleurs-de-lis, by Henry IV in 1406.

From the accumulated evidence of the scenes, the jewels and the enamel, it seems probable that the present cross is a 17th century restoration of an existing medieval crucifix. From the similarity of the settings of the stones to those on the O'Dea Mitre, it is possible that there is here a fragment from the workshop of Thomas O Carryd, and that it once formed

The Relic

b

c

a *b* *c*

The scenes on the front of the Arthur Cross.

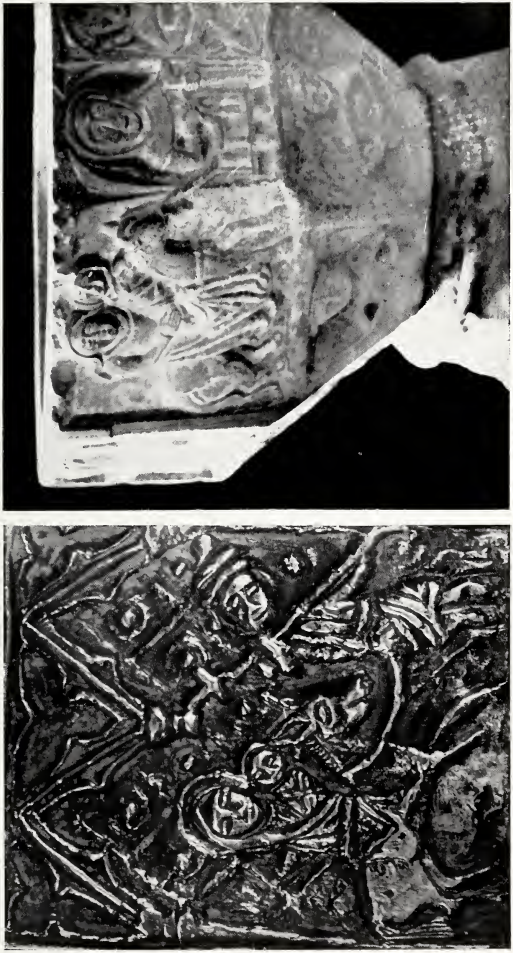


Photo: H. G. Leask

Comparison of scene with that on the Clonard font

6. Enamelled jewel on base

part of the set of objects made for Cornelius O'Dea. He became Bishop in 1400, and the mitre and crozier which he ordered to be made are dated 1418.

It is possible that there was a certain time-lag in this country in discarding the ancient form of the arms of France and that they may have continued in use here after 1406, or, alternatively, that the cross was made slightly earlier than the other articles of the Limerick pontificalia.

In addition to the great Relic inserted in front of the cross, within the box formed by the back and front is a relic of St. Ursula with an inscription in a late 16th century hand.

Within the base, which has a tapering socket below so that a processional staff can be inserted, is a very ancient piece of leather with very fine stitching upon it—perhaps a glove. This is accompanied by a piece of paper, of the late 16th or early 17th century, from which the writing has unfortunately faded.

I wish to thank His Lordship Dr. O'Neill, Bishop of Limerick, for his kindness in allowing me to examine the cross, and Monsignor Michael Moloney of Limerick for his help in this matter.

MUICEANACH MAR ÁITAINM

Le T. S. Ó MÁILLE

I

Bunuím a bhfuil sa dréacht seo ar an tsraith ainmneacha a thugaim thíos anseo. Cuirim leagan urlabhruíochta le gach ainm i gcrúcaí cearnógacha, lena dhéanamh soiléir cé mar fuaimnithear é san áit atá i gceist; chuala mé 9, 10, 16, ag Gaeilgeoirí.

Condae Chiarraí;

1. *Muckenagh,* baile fearainn (SO 9, 15); [mük'ənəx, mukən'əx, mukənəx].

2. *Muckenagh,* baile fearainn (SO 16); [mukən'əx, *m*ik'ənəx].

Condae an Chláir;

3. (*a*) *Muckanagh Lake* (SO 18); (*b*) *Muckanagh,* ceantar toghcháin; [mukənə].

4. (*a*) *Muckanagh Vandeleur,* (*b*) *Muckanagh Butler,* (*c*) *Muckanagh Studdert,* bailte fearainn (SO 42, 51); [mukənə, *m*ikənə].

Condae Chorcaí;

5. *Muckenagh,* baile fearainn (SO 6); [*m*ik'ən]ə.

Condae Fhearmanach;

6. *Muckenagh,* baile fearainn (SO 12, 13); [mukənə].

7. *Muckenagh,* baile fearainn (SO 21); [müt'ənax, mukənə].

Condae na Gaillimhe;

8. (*a*) *Muckanagh North,* (*b*) *Muckanagh South,* bailte fearainn (SO 33, 47); [mük'ənə, mukəN'ə, mukənə].

9. *Muckanaghederdauhaulia,* baile fearainn (SO 65, 78); [mük'ənəx ɛd'ər' ɑ : hɑ : l'ə].

10. (*a*) *Muckanaghkillew,* baile fearainn, (*b*) *Muckanagh Lough* (SO 66, 79); [mük'ənəx kɛL'u :].

11. *Muckanagh,* baile fearainn (SO 108, 118); [mukəN'ə].

Condae na hIarmhí;

12. *Muckanagh,* baile fearainn (SO 15); [mukənə, muknə].

Condae Liatroma;

13. *Muckanagh*, baile fearainn (SO 33, 36); [müt'ənə, mukənə].
Condae Longphuirt;

14. *Mucknagh*, baile fearainn (SO 9); [*m*iknə, muknə].
Condae Luimnigh;

15. *Muckenagh, Muckinagh* (CS lgh. 343, 366); níor chualas an t-ainm ag aon duine.
Condae Mhuíó;

16. *Muckanagh*, baile fearainn (SO 60); [mük'ənəx].

17. *Muckanagh*, baile fearainn (SO 68); [mut'N'ə, *m*ik'N'ə].
Condae Roscomáin;

18. *Muckanagh*, baile fearainn (SO 17, 18, 23); [müt'ənə].

II

Sa gcaibidil seo, tugaim a bhfuair mé dhe sheanfhoirmeacha ar na hainmneacha úd.

1. *Mwickenagh, Muicineach* ' place where swine are fed ', *Muckenagh, Muckena, Muckanaugh, Muckinaugh, Muckenaghnylac* (NB).

2. *Mwickenagh, Muicineach* ' a place where pigs feed ', *Muckenaghbeg, Muckenagh, Mwickanagh, Muckena, Muckenach, Muckenaugh.* (NB).

3. *Muckanagh, Muckanagh Lough* (NB, paráiste Chill Chaoide, i, index, ii, index is lgh. 61-62).

4. (*a*) *Mwickanagh Vandeleur, Mwicknagh Vandelieur, Mwickanagh Vandalure, Muckenagh Vandelieur;* (*b*) *Mucknagh Butler, Mwickanagh Butler, Muckenagh Butler, Muiceannach* ' piggery, a place where swine feed ', *Muiceineach, Muckanagh, Mucknagh;* (*c*) *Mwickanagh Studdart, Muckenagh Studdart* (NB).

5. *Muckenagh* ' piggery ', *Muiceanach* ' a place where swine are fed or kept ', *Muckinnah, Muckanagh, Muckinagh* (NB).

6. *Muckinagh, Muicenach, Muckenagh, Muicíneach* ' a place where swine feed ' (NB).

7. *Muckenagh* (BSD, Condae Fhearmanach, index is lch. 40); *Muckenagh* (DS); *Muckennagh* (Top. Index, lch. 317); *Muiceanach*, ' a place where swine feed ', *Muckanagh, Muckenagh, Muickenagh* (NB).

8. *Muckena* (BSD, Condae na Gaillimhe, index is lch. 164); *Muckenah* (Top. Index, lch. 317); *Muicionach* (Éigse 6, 1951, 222).

9. *Muicineach idir da sháile* ' piggery between two brines ', *Muicineach idir dha shaile, Muckanaghederdauhaulia, Mwickanaghedderauhaulia, Muckenagh, Mwickenaghedderauhaulia, Muckenaugh's, Muckenaghe edir Dahalia* (NB); *Muccanagh* (*Analecta Hibernica* 14, *lch.* 121).

10. *Muckynagh, Mukynagh* (BSD, Condae na Gaillimhe, index is lch. 86); *Muiceanach coille* ' piggery of the wood ', *Muicineach coille, Muckanaghkillew, Mwickanaghkellour, Mwickanaghcoille, Mockinaghkelly* (NB).

11. *Mucanach* ' pigland ', *Muckena, Muckanagh, Mucinagh* (NB).

12. *Muckanagh, Muckinagh, Muckinnagh* (BSD, Condae na hIarmhí, index, lgh. 10, 11); *Muckanagh* (DS); *Muckanagh* (Top. Index, 317); *Muckanagh, Mucanach* ' land of the hogs, a piggery, where hogs are fed on mash ', *Muckinaughs, Mucknagh* (NB).

13. *Muckinagh* (BSD, Condae Liatroma, index is lch. 33); *Muckanagh, Muiceanach* ' a piggery ', *Muckanough, Muck an augh, Mucanach* ' a sty house for young pigs ', *Mucknough* (NB).

14. *Mucknagh, Muicneach, Muiceanach* ' place where pigs feed ', *Mockanaghbegge, Mokenagh more* (NB).

15. *Muckenagh* (BSD, Condae Luimnigh, index is lch. 23); *Muckennagh* (DS, paráiste Ard Chainnigh). Níl d'fhianaise agam ar an ainm seo ach a dtugaim anseo is i §I; níl an t-ainm ar an léarscáil.

16. *Muckinagh* (BSD, Condae Mhuió, index is lch. 186); *Muckanagh, Muícineach* ' pig-land ', *Mwickannagh, Muckannagh recte Mwickinnagh, Mucknagh, Muckinnagh, Muckennough,* (NB); *Muiceanach* (T. Ó Máille, *Urlabhraidheacht,* lch. 190).

17. *Muckernaght als. Muckinagh* (BSD, Condae Mhuió, index is lch. 114); *Muckenagh* (Top. Index, lch. 317); *Muckanagh, Muiceanach* ' a place where swine feed ', *Muckinagh alias Muckskinagh, Mucknagh, Muckenagh, Mockenagh* (NB).

18. *Muckinagh, Muckenagh* (BSD, Condae Roscomáin, index is lgh. 82, 93); *Muckenagh, Muiceanach* ' place where swine feed ', *Muckanagh, Muckmagh, Muckenogh, Muckonagh, Mucknagh, Machenagh, Carrowcorra in Muckenagh* (NB).

III

Sé an leagan Gaeilge ceart ar gach ainm díobh siúd, *Muiceanach* ' mucach, rud mucúil ', le cur in iúl gur muc talúna, nó druim crochta, ar mhodh droma mhuice, is údar anma dá gach aon áit. Tig an focal *muc* a chur ag fóint le malairt bhrí seachas ainmhí a chiallú. Ins na leaganacha *muc shneachta, muc ghainmhe, muc ar gach malainn,* cailluíonn sé moll, nó iomaire atá crochta thar an gcothrom máguairt. Isí an dara ciall úd ata

leis an bhfocal *muiceanach*, aidiacht a fhónas mar shubstainteach, san áitainm. Is iomó aidiacht ag críochnú le *-ach*, a bhfuil an t-athleagan di ann ag críochnú le *-anach*, gan aon athrú céille, mar *cuisleach, cuisleannach, ceilteach, ceilteanach, luascach, luascanach, tuigseach, tuigseanach, tuathach, tuathanach, déirceach, déirceanach, ealtach, ealtanach*. Is cosúil gur in áitainmneacha is mó a húsáití an dara leagan, mar is minic a fáitear a shamhail in ainmneacha mar atá sa liosta seo leanas, cé gur gann i bhfoclóirí iad; *Capanagh, Crubinagh, Claranagh, Carrowcreevanagh, Carrigenagh, Drunganagh, Fliughanagh, Loobanagh, Mullanagh, Reevanagh, Slievenagh, Pishanagh, Slattinagh, Smuttinagh, Croaghanagh, Barranagh,* is eile.

Níl aon tsompla agam den fhocal *muiceanach* i nGaeilge na hÉireann, taobh amuigh de na háitainmneacha. I nGaeilge na hAlban, ámh, tá sé ar fáil, leis an mbrí ' mí-fhiúntach, daorchlannda ', ciall a fáisceadh as ' mucach '. Is cosúil gur le cruth mucach is mó a bhain ciall an fhocail in Éirinn, is gur as cáilíocht an ainmhí a thóig na hAlbannaigh an bhrí. Tugtar fá deara go gcialluíonn *mucach* ' carnta ' i nGaeilge na hAlban. Is iomlat gnáth in Éirinn *-c-* > *-t-*, mar atá sa bhfuaimniú a chualas i gceithre háiteacha (7, 13, 17, 18); féach *Urlabhraidheacht* (Tomás Ó Máille), §§67, 101, *The Irish of Cois Fhairrge* (T. de Bhaldraithe), §630. Ní as bealach an caolú ó *muc-* go *muic-*, mar tá malairt mar é le fáil ó aimsir na Meán-Ghaeilge ins na focla *muc(c)aid, muicid* > *mucaí* (*mucaidhe*) sa Nua-Ghaeilge.

IV

Tá dearbhú le fáil ar an gcéill a thairgim i §III, thuas, in airíana aicionta gach áite atá i dtrácht agam. Ins gach baile fearainn, cés moite dhe 15, is ionann an muiceanach is druim talúna, nó iomaire talúna. Is difriuil le chéile iad ina méid, ach ins gach cás is mó fad an droma ná a leithead, agus is comh-chruthach gach druim ar an dá thaobh d'fhearsaid a fhaid. Ins na háiteacha a huimhrithear 3, 5, 7, 8, 10, 12, 13, 16, 17, 18, i §I, thuas, ní ionaimhris méid ná cuma an mhuiceanaigh, ós é an airí aicionta is feiceálaí sa mbaile fearainn uile é. Taspáinim i gcrúcaí an airde i dtroithe is mó ins gach giodán, áit a bhfuil sin marcáilte ar an gcéad léarscáil Sheilbhéarachta Ordonáis; ní hionann an airde sin, ar ndó, is an airde thar cothrom na talúna máguairt.

3. Tachmhuingeann an muiceanach úd (146) cuid mhór dhe bhaile fearainn *Rinelea* [rəin'l'i:], is síneann sé thar an tórainn siar; fad míle atá ann, is leithead ceathrú míle; trí hainmneacha atá ag daoine ar an loch, *Muckanagh Lake, Tullymackin Lake, Fionnloch* [f'u:nlox], is thug Ó Donnabháin ceann eile, *Rinroe Lough* (NB, paráiste Chill Chaoide, ii, lch. 61). 5. Druim (791) den tsórt céanna baileach le 3 atá i gCondae Chorcaí, is síneann sé isteach sa gcéad bhaile fearainn eile, *Knocksheehy* [nɔks'k'ɛhə]. 6. Siod ros glas dronnach (148), a shíneas amach i Loch

Meilghe (*Muckenagh West* ar léarscáil 1838). 7. Is deacair cumruíocht a dhromchla siúd fheiceál ag a bhfuil de chrainnte is fáil arda ina bharr, ach tá an druim ard (269) i gceartlár an bhaile fhearainn, ag síneadh soir is siar. 8(*a*), 8(*b*). Sa dá bhaile fhearainn díobh (*Muckanagh North, Muckanagh South*), atá an muiceanach ansiúd (187), is déanann an lámhród fáinne ina thimpeall. 10. Muiceanach roint briste é siúd (157), ag síneadh ó thuaidh is ó dheas i lár na codach úd den bhaile fearainn atá ina ros i Loch Mhuiceanaigh. 12. Sa leath ó dheas den bhaile fearainn atá an muiceanach (232); síneann sé ó thuaidh is ó dheas idir Loch Rí is Loch Creagáin. 13. Is rí-shoiléir muiceanach ansiúd, ar an taobh ó dheas den bhóthar mór; tá sé ag síneadh ceathrú míle ó dheas is ó thuaidh, le portach ar gach taobh ach ar an taobh theas. 16. Ar thórainn iartharach an bhaile fhearainn atá an muiceanach íseal féarach ansiúd, ag ceann droichead an Chlaoidigh. 17. Níl ansiúd ach an druim ard (734) a shíneas idir an dá bhaile fhearainn (*Muckanagh* is *Laplagh*); sa gcéad cheann atá an leath ó thuaidh den druim, idir shleasa iartharacha is sleasa oirthearacha. 18. Is mór atá an áit úd clúdaithe le tomanna is fáil arda, ach is soiléir cuma an mhuiceanaigh (170, 179) ar fud na codach úd den bhaile fearainn atá sínte amach i Loch Chill Glaise.

I gcás na n-áiteacha a huimhrithear 4, 9, 11, 14, i §I, thuas, bíodh nach taibhseach ná an-ard an druim talúna iontu, is cinnte go bhfuil a leitheid le feiceál. 4(*a*), 4(*b*), 4(*c*). Ainmnithear na trí bailte fearainn úd ón druim glas íseal (110 ?), atá ag síneadh soir ó thuaidh is siar ó dheas, gar don tórainn ó dheas de 4(*c*) ar an taobh thiar dhen bhóthar. 9. B'fhéidir go bhfuil dhá roghain anseo; (*a*) an chuid ó thuaidh den leathinse a shíneas amach sa bhfaraige (54), ach is doiléir a cuma dhe bharr an talamh bheith an-bhriste (*b*) an druim lom (65) ag síneadh soir is siar sa leath ó dheas den bhaile fearainn, rud a dtugtar *Druimín* anois air (*Drumminnashinnagh* ar léarscáil 1841), agus isé a b'fhearr liom mar údar anma dhon áit. Ar an léarscáil chéanna, tá pointe (54) a bhfuil *Mucnasalia* air, ar an taobh thoir dhen bhaile fearainn. 11. Tá dhá roghain ansiúd, agus isé an chéad cheann a b'fhearr liom; (*a*) druim féarach (132), a shíneas soir is siar ar an tórainn ó dheas den bhaile fearainn; (*b*) iomaire dhe phortach (132), a shíneas soir is siar ar an tórainn ó thuaidh; ní comhchruthach ar fad é mar mhuiceanach, is tá cuid de ag leathnú amach thar tórainn, soir ó dheas. 14. Dhá dhruim atá san áit úd, rud a fhreagruíos, b'fhéidir, don dá ainm a tugtar i §II 14, thuas (*Mockanaghbegge, Mokenagh more*); achar gearr ar an taobh thoir dhen lámhród a shíneas siar ó thuaidh is soir ó dheas, atá an chéad cheann, agus idir é is an abhainn atá an dara ceann; tá siad ina luí comhthreormhar lena chéile, is tá fad ceathrú míle iontu, thimpeall's, ach is ísle an ceann thoir ná an ceann thiar.

Is an-íseal dhá mhuiceanach Chiarraí (1, 2), agus is goire atá siad ag freagairt d'athchéill an fhocail *muc* ' plóchadh '. Níl thar airde 20 troigh os cionn cothrom na talúna máguairt sa gcéad cheann (54, 42), agus is deacair é fheiceál, ach amháin ó phointe thimpeall's leith mhíle uaidh ar an taobh thiar; síneann sé ó thuaidh is ó dheas i gceartlár an bhaile

fhearainn. Is fearr a feicthear an dara ceann ón gcuid thiar dhen bhaile fearainn, ach tá a chumruíocht ó amharc cuid mhaith, i ngeall ar an áit a bheith lán le claitheacha fód; ach tá druim íseal ann (37), cé gur deacair treo a fhearsaide aimsiú.

The above study of the place-name *Muckanagh* and its related forms in eleven counties, shows the name to be the obsolete Irish adjective *muiceanach* ' pig-like ', used substantively to describe a pig-back ridge, a topographical feature found in varying sizes in all the places investigated.

Nodanna;

BSD	*Book of Survey and Distribution.*
CS	R. C. Simington, *The Civil Survey, 1654-56, County of Limerick,* Dublin, 1938.
DS	Down Survey.
NB	J. O'Donovan, *Ordnance Survey Name Books.*
SO	Léarscáilte na Seilbhéarachta Ordonáis.
Top. Index	Y. M. Goblet, *Topographical Index of the Parishes and Townlands,* etc., Dublin, 1932.

EXCAVATION OF A CIRCULAR STONE HOUSE AT GLANNAFEEN (Lough Ine) Co. CORK

By Conchubhar Ó Cuileanáin, *Member*

This site, which is situated in the townland of Glannafeen and Parish of Tullagh,[1] overlooks the shallow arm of Lough Ine which reaches southwards towards the sea at the south-west extremity of this salt water lake, renowned alike for the beauty of its scenery and the variety of its marine biological life. It is situated in that part of Glannafeen townland which forms a peninsula between Lough Ine and the sea and occupies a declivity between two ridges of outcropping rock on ground sloping westward towards the lake (pl. XII, *a*). An overhanging cliff towers to a height of 25′ over lowest floor level[2] and from the site there is a magnificent view of the lake and its surrounding wooded hills. The declivity in which the site is situated comprises one of the numerous tiny patches of arable land which abound among the rocks of the peninsula.

Though not shown in the 6 inch O.S. map, the site is well known locally and, because it appeared to consist of two prominent portal stones and a number of other standing stones (in black on plan fig. 1) in the form of a circle (pl. XII, *b*), was generally regarded as a small stone circle of a type common enough in West Cork. This excavation has, however, proved it to be not a stone circle but a circular stone house whose date is not earlier than the Iron Age and may be considerably later. Some 100 yds. north of the site is another circular stone structure of approximately the same diameter, but this latter has no prominent portal stones.

The excavated house comprises a circular wall of alternating upright stones and dry stone masonry with a central post-hole (pl. XV, *a*). The diameter is approximately 20′ and a feature of the structure is an elaborate double flue which extends outwards under the wall of the house from a circular hearth just inside the wall. An outcrop of rock rising to a height of 1′ 6″ over floor level runs from the west to the centre. Before being cleared, the site presented an uninviting appearance, situated as it was amidst high ferns and briars and having three large holly trees growing within it.

The north-west quadrant, which was first excavated, proved by far the most interesting both from the point of view of structure and of finds. It may, in fact be stated here that there were no finds from any other quadrant. Before excavation, the outside of the circle in this quadrant seemed to consist of the western of the two portal stones (8′ 9″ in height) together with a

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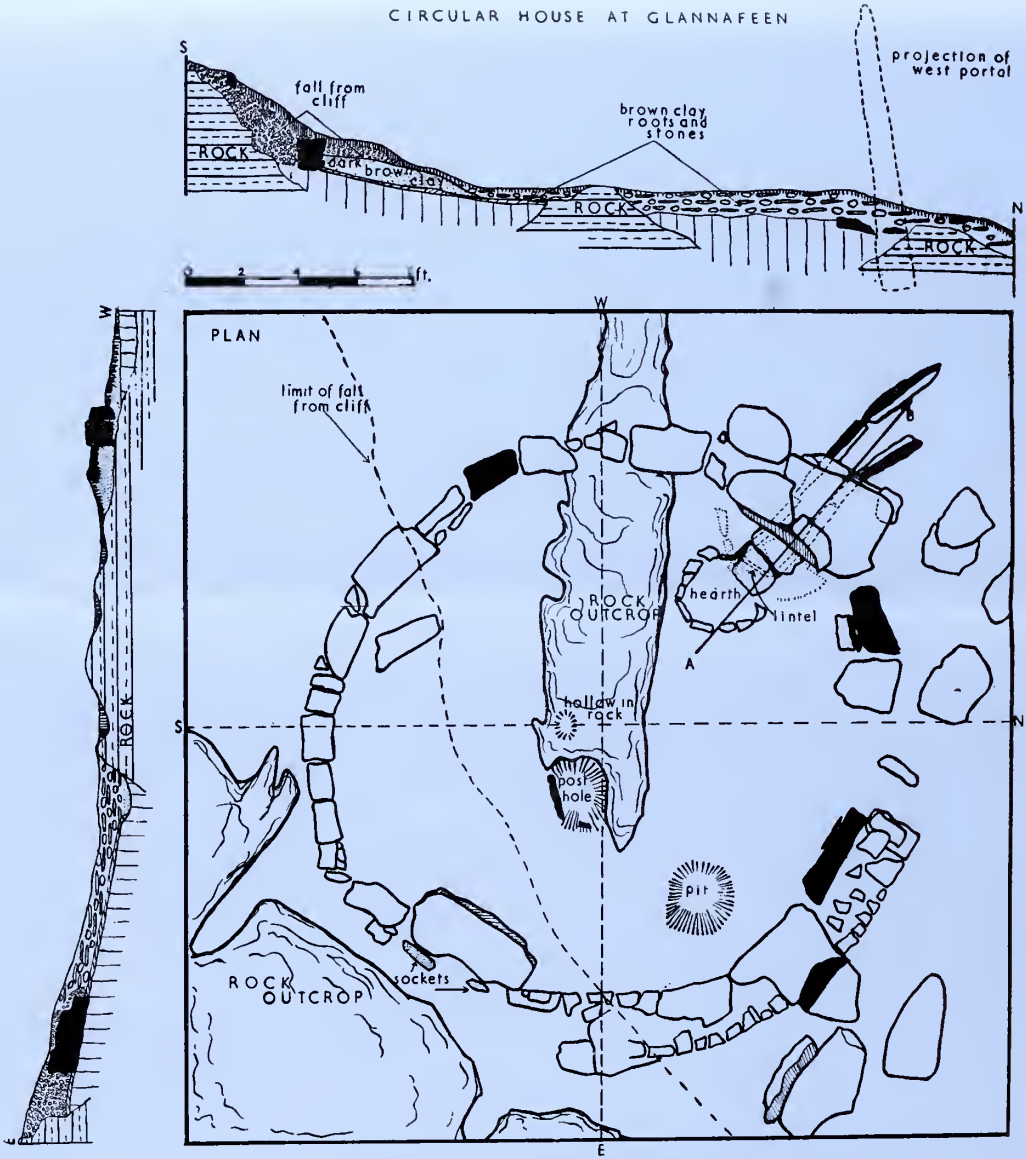


FIG. 1. Plan and Sections

large horizontally-placed slab of stone about 5″ in thickness. Some three inches of the outer edge of this slab were visible and under it there was a hollow space about 18″ by 6″. The ground sloped sharply westward from this point, towards the lake. On the inner side scarcely any trace of a wall was discernible, as the mass of stone and vegetation—mainly roots of holly and ferns—exceeded wall height.

A few inches below the surface the inner edge of the slab appeared and it was found to lie on the same circumference as the inner face of the western portal stone. On top of this slab and plumb with its inner edge lay two smaller stones. The slab, which proved to be the capstone of the upper section of a double flue is 8′ long and 3′ 9″ wide. Immediately

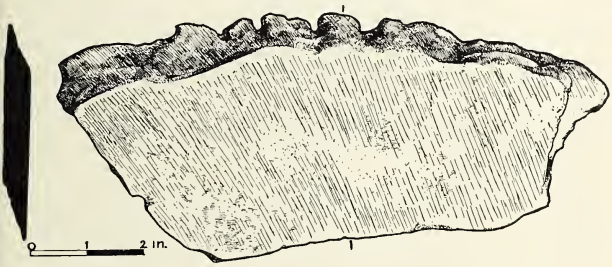


FIG. 2. Stone implement from hearth

inside the circumference, its bottom surface almost level with the large slab and its outer face flush with it, lay a much smaller stone, which was 3′ long, 1′ 9″ wide and 1½″ thick. This stone and the arc of small stones described below are shown in dotted line on plan. From the inner (S.E.) corner of this stone a setting of smaller stones formed a roughly-shaped arc, which connected with the southern corner of the large slab, thereby enclosing an area up to 2′ long and 1½′ wide (pl. XIII, *a*). The fill of this enclosed area was composed of soft friable soil with flecks of charcoal, some iron slag and a number of fragments of furnace lining, tuyères and furnace bottoms. It also produced an implement made from local sandstone. This was a slab 9½″ long, 4½″ wide, ⅝″ thick, irregularly shaped, with semi-circular notches—nine in all—of diameters ranging from ⅛″ to ¼″ cut into the edges (fig. 2). These notches bore traces of transverse friction and the implement was presumably used in the shaping of iron nails or wire.

When the arc of stones was removed, the deposit of charcoal, iron slag and furnace lining was found to continue underneath (to a depth of 4″) to the level of the slabs which formed the top of the lower section of the flue

(fig. 3). The top level of these slabs—four in all and lying one inside the other with their edges touching—was 2″ below the bottom of the upper slab at the inner face of the wall, and, as they sloped outward, 9″ at the outer face. The intervening space, which formed the upper section of the flue, was in the form of a truncated wedge about 3′ wide. The four slabs which capped the lower section of the flue rested on flagstones standing on edge, almost vertically at the inner edge, where they were 1′ 5″ apart at the top and 1′ 4″ apart at the bottom. Immediately below the outer face

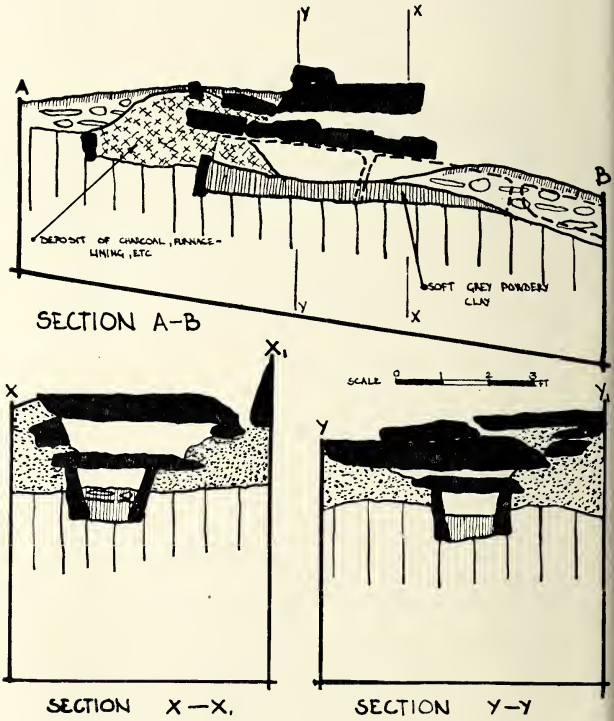


Fig. 3. Sections through flue

a

b

GLANNAFEEN: (*a*) General view from west, showing situation of site
(*b*) Site, cleared of bushes, before excavation

a

b

GLANNAFEEN: (*a*) Setting of stones over hearth (*b*) Flue from outside

of the wall they were only 1′ 1″ apart at the bottom and they splayed outwards towards the top where they were 1′ 8″ apart. The base of the flue sloped outwards as did its capstones, and so the depth of the flue remained constant. These side flagstones of the flue continued beyond the outer face of the wall towards the lake, those on the southern edge for a distance of 4′ 6″ and those on the north for only 2′ 2″ (pl. XIII, *b*). Beyond the outer face of the wall, however, there were no capstones.

Inside the house, at the inner end of the flue and about 1′ 6″ lower than the arc of stones already described was another circular setting of stones which formed a hearth just under 3′ in diameter (pl. XVI, *a*). The north-west part of the diameter of this hearth intruded some 8½″ under the innermost of the four slabs which formed the roof of the flue. Under this slab, marking the inner end of the flue, was a sill stone 1¼″-2″ in thickness and 11″ in height. This stone also formed part of the circumference of the hearth. The deposit containing charcoal, iron slag and furnace lining mentioned before, covered this hearth and continued down to the level of the top of the sill stone; 1½″ further down undisturbed soil was reached. This deposit also filled the inner end of the flue, but it did not extend further than a few inches. The remainder of the flue was almost empty (save for a deposit of soft friable soil 2″ in depth at its base), to a point almost at the outer circumference of the wall, from which point outwards it was filled with collapse from the wall.

Approximately half the wall in the south-west quadrant was covered by fall from the cliff which overhangs the site on the south. The wall here, and in the south-east quadrant was, for the most part, an inner facing not more than 1′ wide backed by a loose deposit of clay and stones which reached the nearby cliff. One stone in the south-east quadrant which had stood on edge in the wall was tilted inwards as a result of the weight of fall from the cliff. Two sockets were found which corresponded with two projections at the base of this stone. When the stone was re-erected in these sockets it was found that the dry stone wall had been carefully shaped to fit under a projection of the standing stone (pl. XVI, *b*). East of the centre of the house was an irregular post-hole partly lined with stones standing on edge. This was 1′ 10″ in diameter and 11″ in depth. In the rock outcrop already referred to, which was 3′-4′ in width and 1′-2′ above floor level, a clearly defined almost circular hollow was found just south of the centre of the house. This could also have served as a post-hole and, possibly, was used as such. From the outcrop to the wall in the south-west and south-east quadrants the floor level was marked by a deposit of limonite up to 2″ deep, resulting from continuous drip from the overhanging cliff.

In the north-east quadrant a large amount of loose stones was found piled up inside, outside and over the wall. On top of these stones and somewhat outside the circumference of the house, stood a lone standing stone, 2′ 8″ in height (see plan) but, as this stone was loosely set among the heaped-up smaller stones, its situation may be taken as purely

fortuitous. The wall in this quadrant, as it left the vicinity of the cliff, was of much more elaborate construction than was found in the south-west and south-east quadrants. It was 2′ 9″ wide, was formed of large stones, the inner and outer faces nicely built, with a fill of smaller stones between. This wall continued outside the east portal stone and, although very low at its western edge, it was evident that there had been a built facing at this side of the entrance. A pit, which proved barren of finds, was found immediately inside the wall in this quadrant and its fill, composed mainly of good building stone, indicated that the wall, at this point, had been stone-built somewhat higher than the present height of 1′.

The eastern portal stone, the inner face of which corresponded with the inner circumference of the wall, was 7′ 3″ in height—not as high as the western though it was wider. In the space between the portals (the entrance) a number of large flagstones, which possibly formed a paving, appeared. These, however, were so disturbed by holly roots that it was impossible to decide whether they had formed such a pavement or were merely collapse from the wall. There were no traces of a post-hole at either side of the entrance.

CONCLUSIONS

The dating evidence, as already stated, shows the site to be not earlier than the Iron Age. An elaborately built flue was constructed there; whether or not the primary purpose of the flue and of the hearth it served was connected with iron smelting, the number of furnace bottoms, fragments of tuyère and furnace lining found must lead to the conclusion that a furnace or furnaces of the type described by O'Kelly[1] was erected over it. The suggestion may be made that this structure was a drain and not a flue. Hearths from which drains lead have been found in the excavation of house sites[2], but, in the present excavation the fact that the corner slab of the flue protruded 8½″ over the edge of the hearth would render this structure completely useless as a drain. In fact, no purpose other than that of a flue can be ascribed to it. It is difficult to state with certainty what the purpose of the upper opening was. This, like the lower flue, faced in the direction of the prevailing wind—in fact, they faced the only point from which the site was not well sheltered—and this upper structure may have been intended to provide a side draught to the furnace through a tuyère.

As regards the construction of the house, the portal stones, as occurring in round stone houses, are paralleled in St. Gobnet's House, Ballyvourney[3] and elsewhere. It is of interest to note that the mode of building used in the walls i.e. standing stones alternating with dry stone masonry, still survives in the area and is fairly commonly used in the construction of field fences. (pl. XV, *b*). It is difficult to state to what height the wall was

[1]"St. Gobnet's House, Ballyvourney, Co. Cork", *J.C.H.A.S.*, 57 (1952), 18.

[2]Childe and Grant, "A Stone Age Settlement at the Braes of Rinyo, Rousay, Orkney", *P.S.A.S.*, 81 (1947), 16.

[3]O'Kelly. *J.C.H.A.S.*, 57 (1952), 18.

a

b

GLANNAFEEN: (*a*) Hearth and inner end of flue with capstone removed (*b*) Detail of construction, showing wall built under projection of stone on edge.

a

b

GLANNAFEEN: (*a*) House completely excavated (from S.E.) (*b*) Modern field fence near site showing survival of mode of building

built but, certainly a sufficient amount of stones, large and small, was found in and around the site to allow of stone-built walls almost as high as the portal stones. While stones were plentiful, however, sods of any depth were scarce and it may safely be assumed that, if the walls did reach the height of the portal stones they were built of stone. Apart from the amount of stone on the site—and this, may be due to collapse from an overhanging cliff—there was no evidence that the wall reached a height much greater than its present height—3′ at the most. However, as it is evident that a furnace of the type described by O'Kelly was erected over the hearth, the wall, at this point at least, must have been some feet higher than its present height. The part of the wall which, prior to excavation, was covered by fall from the cliff, can never have been more than a facing between which and the cliff, stones and clay were piled up. At a number of points, the wall-facing reaches to within one foot of the cliff and at no point in the S.E. quadrant is it more than 3′ distant from it. With a central post standing in the post-hole and, possibly a second in the hollow in the outcropping rock, the roofing of the house would have presented no difficulty.

As has already been stated, there were no post-holes at the entrance and it must be assumed either that the house had no door or that a hanging door was provided. No evidence of normal domestic occupation such as animal bone, shells or domestic utensils were found. The finding of the stone implement referred to above would indicate that nails or wire were manufactured on the site, possibly from iron smelted there.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The excavation was carried out during August 1953 by means of a Government grant administered by the Special Employment Schemes Office on the recommendation of the Royal Irish Academy, to both of which I wish to express my indebtedness.

I am also indebted to the landowner, Mr. G. O'Donovan of Barlogue, Loughine, for his kind permission to excavate and to Professors S. P. Ó Ríordáin of U.C.D. and M. J. O'Kelly of U.C.C. for their many helpful suggestions.

A HORIZONTAL MILL AT BALLYKILLEEN, Co. OFFALY

By A. T. Lucas, *Hon. Gen. Secretary*

Site

The remains of a horizontal watermill were discovered in August, 1953 in the course of drainage works which were being carried out under the Government Land Rehabilitation Project in a shallow, boggy hollow lying between two low ridges of firm ground in the townland of Ballykilleen, Co. Offaly, in the neighbourhood of Horseleap, Co. Westmeath. The position of the mill will be found on Offaly O.S. 6″ sheet 2, 35·9 cm. from west and 25·3 cm. from south (fig. 1). Between the ridges the hollow measures about 160 m. across and along its southern margin, from east to west, runs a small streamlet which, by a course now almost wholly composed of artificial drainage channels, finds its way to the Gageborough River less than a quarter of a mile away. The operations undertaken to drain the depression included the deepening of the bed of this streamlet and, while this work was in progress, the bucket of the dragline or mechanical excavator struck a wooden beam lying across the bed at a depth of about a metre below the existing level. This timber was torn out of place before the nature of the obstruction was realised but when more traces of a wooden structure came to light work at the spot was suspended and the discovery reported to the National Museum, on behalf of which the site was examined by the writer.

The streamlet which skirts the edge of the southern ridge has its source in a small spring lying about 90 m. to the east of the mill. This now appears as a small circular basin about 60 cm. in diameter and about 20 cm. deep at the foot of the bank forming the boundary of the field but before the deepening of the bed the water merely oozed up through the mud. The present summer flow of the water does not amount to more than a sluggish trickle. It is, however, difficult to estimate what the volume would have been in former times for a large drainage channel, which joins the streamlet a short distance below the mill, has been cut through the centre of the hollow. A system of field drains falling to this has been laid so that it now carries off the main discharge from the hollow in a flow of water many times that of the streamlet. This channel does not appear on the O.S. map of 1840 (surveyed in 1838) but is marked on the revised edition of 1912 (surveyed in 1909-10). It would appear to have been cut at some time in the interval 1838-1909, but even it did not prevent the severe winter flooding

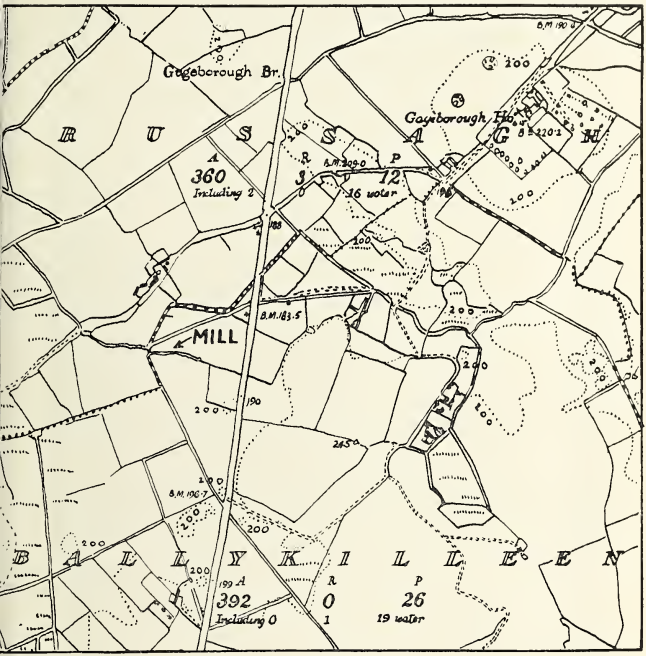


FIG. 1. Site of horizontal mill, Ballykilleen, Co. Offaly

(*Reproduced for O.S. Offaly, 6″ sheet 2, by permission of the Minister for Finance*)

which occurred each year until the present improvements were made. It would seem probable, therefore, that at the time when the streamlet was the only outlet for the water-logged hollow its volume of water must have been considerably greater than now. Its present flow, no matter how judiciously impounded, would never have served to turn even the most modest mill for more than short intermittent periods.

At the point where the discovery was made the ground to the south rises from the streambed in an almost perpendicular bank. As this forms the boundary of the field and is planted with a hedge its slope may, at some

comparatively recent time, have been artificially sharpened but it must always have been steep. This bank forms the foot of a small knoll about 20 m. in diameter, rising to a height of about 5 m. above the level of the mill floor. Its summit is crowned by the remains of a small, roughly rectangular building, about 6 m. long and 5·5 m. wide externally and 2·8 m. wide internally. The walls, which remain to a maximum height of about 70 cm., are of earth in which is embedded a number of large stones. The distance from the streambank to the nearest edge of the wall is about 8·5 m. Although it was not excavated, it has been thought desirable to mention this little structure since it is possible that it may be connected with the mill and have served as a store for corn and meal or as a sleeping place for the miller.

From the north bank of the stream the land stretches away in a tolerably level surface, which must have been more level still prior to the shrinkage resulting from the drainage works, but at the point where the mill was situated there was a very remarkable feature which had been cleared away before the work of deepening the streambed was begun and for an account of which I have had to rely on a description given me by the landowner, Mr. J. J. Kelly. This was a large earthen bank about 32 m. long and about 5 m. wide which extended along the brink for about equal distances upstream and downstream from the mill. At the mill it was almost 2 m. high but tailed off to less than 1 m. at each end. The slope on the outer side was gradual but that on the side facing the stream was very steep. There can be no doubt that this was a planned earthwork, designed to reproduce artificially on the flat northern bank of the stream the abrupt slope which appeared naturally on the southern side.

Structure

The appearance of the site before examination can be seen in plate XVI, *b* which gives a view from the east end. The inner edge of the transverse beam (Beam 1, fig. 2) can be seen running across the foreground and, on the left, part of *Beam 2* with mortice *c* distinctly visible. To right and left in the centre are displaced floor boards with, between them, *Beam 3,* the one first encountered by the dragline and thrown out of position. It can be seen that one of its faces is reduced to fibres by repeated jabs of the teeth of the bucket.

Beam 1 was first cleared of the mud and debris which covered the greater part of it. Attention was then turned to *Beam 2* the inner face of which was already exposed but the top of which was, for the greater part of its length, buried under a compact mass of earth and stones which had slipped in over it from the bank. Finally, the adjoining streambed was cleared of the loose timbers and the flooring examined. To accomplish this the water had to be dammed off above *Beam 1* but, small as the flow was, it proved impossible to prevent a considerable seepage and no more than half the floor area could be kept free from mud and water at a time.

a

b

BALLYKILLEEN: (*a*) View from east before excavation (*b*) Foot-beam on north side of mill pond

a

b

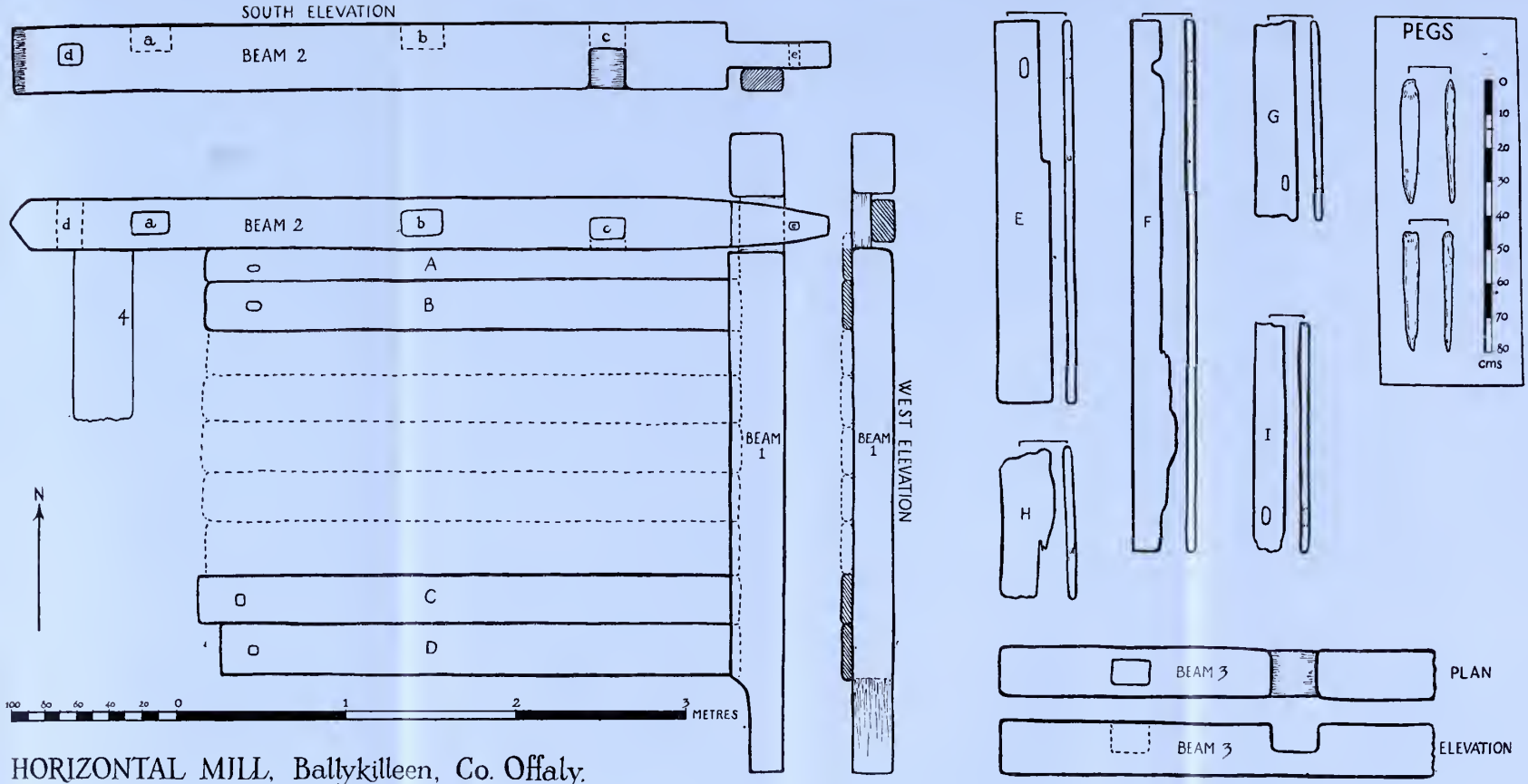
BALLYKILLEEN: (*a*) Remains of displaced floor boards (*b*) West end of a floor board found in position

a

b

BALLYKILLEEN: (*a*) Remains of displaced floor boards (*b*) West end of a floor board found in position

To face page 102.



HORIZONTAL MILL, Ballykilleen, Co. Offaly.

Plan

FIG. 2. Plan

What remained of the structure was a rectangle with its long axis centred in the stream and covering an area of approximately 4·3 by 3 metres. *Beam 1*, which lay transversely across the streambed at the east end was 372 cm. long, 30 cm. wide and 24 cm. thick. At a distance of about 30 cm. from its north end a rabbet 30 cm. wide and 10 cm. deep had been cut into its upper surface to house the east end of *Beam 2* which, in the form of a tenon, projected into and beyond it. The southern end of *Beam 1* lay embedded in the bank of the stream and for a distance of 55 cm. its width had been reduced to 20 cm. by having a section cut from its downstream face.

Beam 2 (plate XVI, *b*), the most massive timber in the whole structure lay against the north bank of the stream. Its total length was 480 cm. and it was 28 cm. wide and 39 cm. thick. Its east end was formed into a tenon 58 cm. long by cutting a thickness of 10 cm. of timber from the upper and under sides of the beam. As has been stated, this tenon lay in the rabbet in the end of *Beam 1* and projected for a distance of 32 cm. beyond it, its end tapering to a blunt point. On its centre line and just beyond the outer edge of the rabbet it was pierced by a vertical oval hole (*e*), about 5 cm. in greatest diameter. This hole was obviously intended to hold a peg which, projecting below the under face of the tenon, served to keep it in position in the rabbet. In the upper surface of the main part of the beam were cut three mortices. Of these, *c* lay at a distance of 60 cm. from the junction of *Beams 1* and *2* and was cut right through the thickness of the beam. It was 20 cm. long and 13 cm. wide and was situated nearer to the inner than to the outer face of the beam, being only 5 cm. distant from the former. On the south or inner side of the beam the wall of this mortice had been cut away to a height of 25 cm. to leave an open cavity. It would appear that this mortice was designed to accommodate the tenons of two timbers, one standing vertically on the beam, the other lying horizontally on the floor of the structure. The two remaining mortices were placed on the centre line of the beam, *b* being at a distance of 86 cm. from *c*, and *a* 135 cm. distant from *b*. Of these *b* was 25 cm. long, 15 cm. wide and 15 cm. deep but as *a* was considerably damaged its dimensions can only be approximately estimated at 22 cm. in length, 13 cm. in width and 15 cm. in depth. The last feature of *Beam 2* is a small mortice (*d*), 14 cm. long and 12 cm. wide, running horizontally through the beam from side to side at a distance of about 9 cm. below its upper face, near its western extremity.

The space enclosed by *Beams 1* and *2* and the steep north bank was floored with long rectangular boards laid side by side on the gravel bed of the stream and of which two were found in position on each side (*A, B, C, D*), the central ones having been torn out and broken by the dragline. As will be seen from their surviving fragments (*E, F, G, H, I,*), the displaced boards were of similar width to those found in position, five of which would fill the gap in the floor made by the dragline (plate XVII, *a*). The floor must, therefore, have consisted originally of nine longitudinal

boards, approximately equal both in length and breadth. Of those found in position, *D* was 304 cm. long, 30 cm. wide and 2 cm. thick; *C*, 316 cm. long, 25-27 cm. wide and 4 cm. thick; *B*, 314 cm. long, 28 cm. wide and 4 cm. thick; *A*, 314 cm. long, 16 cm. wide and 4 cm. thick. The outer edge of *A* was in close contact with the inner face of *Beam 2*, while *D* was buried under the south bank of the stream for the greater part of its width. The east ends of the four boards remaining in place were anchored by being inserted for a distance of 6 cm. under the edge of *Beam 1*. It may be assumed that the east ends of the displaced boards were similarly held in position. The west ends were also fastened down, but by a different method. A short distance from the end of each board an oval hole, averaging 5 by 2·5 cm., was made on its centre line and through this a tapering wooden peg was driven into the gravel below (plate XVII, *b*). The pegs varied from 30-45 cm. in length and in section were rough ovals averaging 5 by 2·5 cm. (fig. 2). In the case of those found in position in boards *A, B, C, D* about 5 cm. of each peg was left projecting above the surface. Both boards and pegs were in an excellent state of preservation. The undisturbed boards lay perfectly level and true and had the whole floor been found intact there is every reason to believe that it would have presented a very uniform surface. Before laying the boards the mill builders must have carefully levelled the streambed to receive them.

The only other timber found in position in the structure was *4* which lay at the west end, at right angles to and in contact with *Beam 2*. This, however, was not a structural feature at all, but consisted of two fragments of light and very rotten wood which merely happened to have fallen there.

Finally, there was *Beam 3*, the timber which had been uprooted and damaged by the dragline bucket. It was 254 cm. long, 28 cm. wide and 31 cm. thick. At a distance of 64 cm. from one end there was in one face a rectangular mortice 22 cm. long, 14 cm. wide and 17 cm. deep. In the same face of the beam and 70 cm. distant from the mortice a large rabbet about 26 cm. long and 16 cm. deep had been cut across it. The remainder of the beam was severely damaged and the end broken but no other fragment was found which might have been the continuation of it. Unfortunately, the peculiarly asymmetrical lay-out of the main timbers gives no hint of what position this beam might have originally occupied. The only clue lies in the nature of the damage done to the beam itself by the dragline. At regular intervals along one edge the wood has been torn to fibres by the teeth of the bucket (plate XVI, *a*). This implies that the beam was lying transversely across the stream when it was struck by the bucket which was working upstream. As it was also the first large timber which was struck it must have lain in this position somewhere at the west end of the structure beyond the floor boards. Furthermore, since it is obvious that a beam lying in that position would have its top downstream edge exposed to injury by a dragline working upstream, an inspection of the loose beam as it appears in plate XVI, *b* makes it clear that the beam must have lain with the face containing the mortice and rabbet upwards and with the rabbet to the south.

a *b* *c*

PADDLES

(*a*) Larger fragment: from above
(*b*) Two fragments: back or convex face
(*c*) Two fragments: side view of front or concave face

It is also certain that it was not joined in any way to *Beam 2* since the soil which overlay the western end of the latter was undisturbed and there was no remains of a tenon in mortice *d* nor any trace of the bruising which must have resulted in the water-logged timber had a tenon been wrenched violently out of it by a sideways movement. Beyond these facts nothing further can be advanced with certainty about the original position of *Beam 3*. It seems, however, likely that it was in some way the counterpart of *Beam 1*.

Paddles

This concludes the description of all the structural remains found and the only other discoveries made were two fragments of the paddles of the millwheel which were picked out of the large dumps of soil excavated from the streambed (fig. 3 & pl. XVIII, *a*, *b*, *c*). They are, like the rest of the timber used in the construction of the mill, of oak and are roughly but expertly made. Each consists of the outer end or blade of a paddle, concave on one face, convex on the other and rectangular in outline. One fragment still retains portion of its shaft and, as will be seen from its plan (fig. 3, no. 1 & pl. XVIII, *a*), it is fashioned with a pronounced twist at the junction of blade and shaft. If, therefore, the shafts of the paddles were mortised vertically into the stock of the upright shaft of the wheel the blades would have presented a concave and backward-tilted face to the water playing upon them.

The larger fragment (fig. 3, no. 1) is 30 cm. long and 13·5 cm. wide but at a distance of 20 cm. from the outer tip it narrows slightly to form a shaft some 10 cm. wide. Its greatest thickness of 2·5 cm. is attained at a distance of 8·5 cm. from the tip, from which point it decreases in both directions, the thickness at the tip being about 5 mm. and on the shaft about 1 cm. The reduction in thickness towards the tip seems to have been effected by paring down the back of the blade. At a distance of about 17·5 cm. from the tip there is, on the upper half of the back of the blade, a projecting vertical ledge of wood.

The second fragment (fig. 3, no. 2) lacks any trace of its shaft but is otherwise almost identical with the other.. It is 18 cm. long, 14·5 cm. wide and 2·5 cm. in greatest thickness and it also has a vertical ledge on its back surface extending for a distance of about 9 cm. downwards from the upper edge at a distance of about 16 cm. from the outer tip.

These ledges have no function but their presence throws an interesting light on the method used in fashioning the paddles. Their position coincides with the intersection of the planes in the twist of the paddles as will be seen from fig. 3, no. 1. The stages in the process of obtaining this twist have been reconstructed diagrammatically in fig. 4, where *A* represents the plan and end elevations of the piece of timber from which the paddle was to be shaped. The first step was to produce a face (fig. 4, B, 1), sloping from the median line of one half of the length of the upper surface

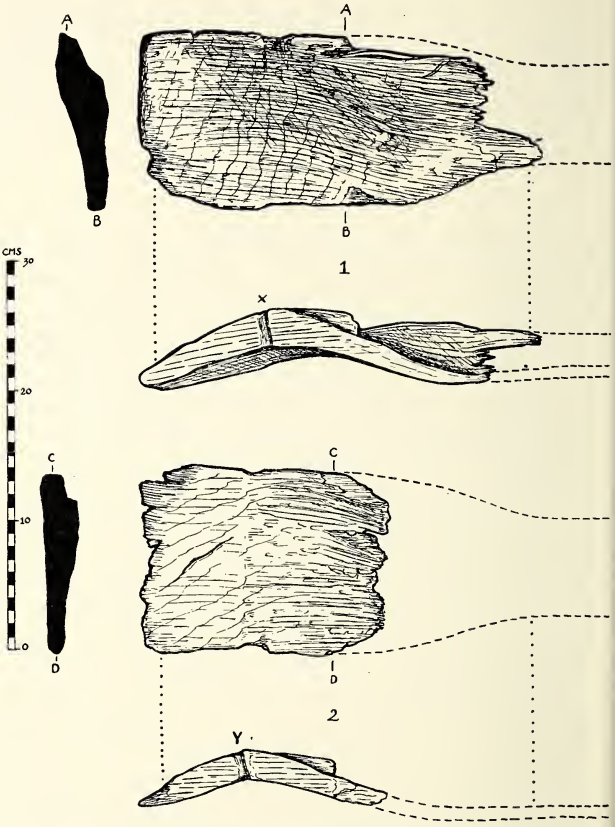


FIG. 3. Ballykilleen, Co. Offaly: paddles

to one of the lower edges, by cutting away the wood shown in triangular section at *l* in fig. 4, B. In the second stage a similar face (fig. 4, C, m), but sloping in the opposite direction, was produced by cutting away the

wood shown in section *2* in fig. 4, C. The piece was then reversed and trimmed down on two further sloping faces (fig. 4: D, n & E, o) thus removing the wood shown in section at D, 3 and E, 4. The final appear-

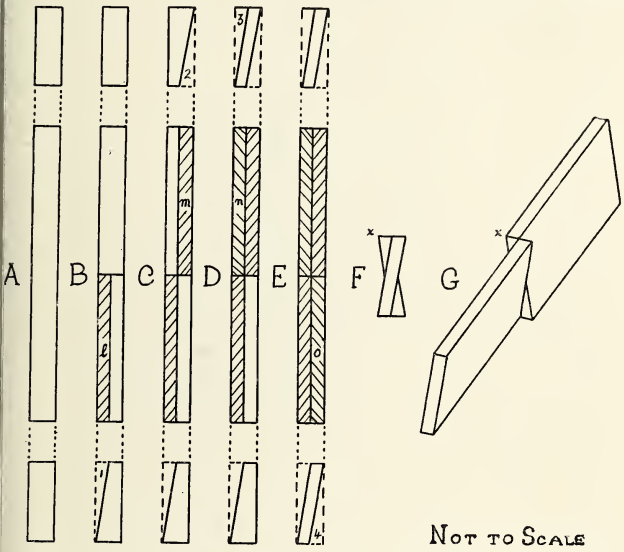


Fig. c. Ballykilleen, Co. Offaly: diagram to show method of cuttting paddle into twist.

ance of the piece is shown at fig. 4, G and its end elevation at fig. 4, F. It will be seen that the original piece of one plane has been transformed into two segments whose planes intersect at an angle thus producing the twist which we have observed in the paddle. The final step was to cut away the projecting angles at the intersection of the planes. One of these (fig. 4: F, x & G, x), because it was on an idle surface at the back of the paddle, was only partly trimmed and remains in the form of the ledge already described.

It is not suggested that the procedure outlined above was followed mathematically in the actual work of shaping the paddle but, there can be no doubt that the twist was effected on this general principle of a planned series of sloping cuts and not by the method, widely used in modern practice, of steaming or boiling the parent piece of timber to soften it enough to

allow it being bent into the requisite shape and keeping it so bent until the twist had permanently set. An inspection of the grain of the timber confirms this, since it runs in one direction throughout the length of the paddle and interects the curves in the object instead of following them, as it would have done had either the parent piece of wood or the finished paddle been bent into shape. From this it follows that, besides the twist, the curve in the blade was also carved into the paddle.

One further feature of the paddles remains to be noticed. On the upper and lower edges of each, at a distance of 9 cm. from the outer tip, there is a small, rectangular, flat-bottomed notch, about 5mm. wide and deep, which runs at a slight angle across the surface (fig. 3, x & y). Extending between these notches on the concave face of the smaller fragment (fig. 3, 2) is a faint but distinct vertical groove about 1 cm. wide, while on the convex back it is possible to detect a corresponding but much fainter groove by sighting down the surface. If similar grooves ever existed on the other fragment they have now disappeared through decay of the surface of the wood. Whatever element of doubt attaches to the grooves, there is none in the case of the notches. Their regular position on the two edges of both paddles precludes any idea that they are accidental and there is no reason for thinking that they are, in some way, merely incidental to the shaping method employed. Knox, in 1906, describing two of the last of the horizontal mills working in the country, in the Ballyhaunis district, Co. Mayo, states that in one case a thin iron hoop passed around the ends of the paddles and that in the other a system of iron stays to the shaft of the wheel helped to keep the paddles in position, since: " It was an ordinary incident with orthodox ladles for one to fly out and float down the stream".[1] The most likely explanation of the notches in the Ballykilleen paddles is that they served for the attachment of some similar staying device. In view of the vertical grooves in the smaller of the fragments, this may have taken the form of a thin band of metal passing vertically round each blade and lying in the notches in the top and bottom edges. This band could have been stayed on top to the shaft or, alternatively, linked at top and bottom by connecting straps of metal to the bands of the adjoining paddles or by single straps joining the centres of the bands. Although there is no means of estimating what the full length of the paddles may have been or the proportion of shaft to blade, the small portion of shaft remaining on the one paddle does seem unduly thin compared with the relatively massive blade. The elasticity of the shafts may have set up a vibration in working which tended to shake the paddles out of their sockets to counteract which a system of stays near the outer ends to give increased rigidity may have been found necessary.

Discussion

As the history, distribution and previous Irish discoveries of horizontal mills have been dealt with by the present writer in a recent volume of this

[1] *P.R.I.A.*, 26, C (1906-1907), pp. 265-270.

Journal it will be sufficient to refer the reader to that article for further information and references.[2] The fortunate discovery of the fragments of the paddles provides conclusive proof that the Ballykilleen structure was a small cornmill of this kind. Paddles of this type are completely foreign to mills with vertical wheels and can only belong to those with horizontal wheels having upright shafts. Within the province of the horizontal mill two varieties of this paddle can be recognised: a flat paddle, generally lacking a shaft, which is found in the North European mills; and a shafted paddle with a dished blade which is characteristic of those of Southern Europe. All the ancient specimens of mill paddles found in Ireland, i.e. those from Moycraig, Co. Antrim; Killinchy, Co. Down; Milverton, Co. Dublin; and Banagher, Co. Derry, as well as those of the modern mills about which we have any information, i.e. those at Cullentra, Co. Mayo and Meeltraun, Co. Roscommon, are shafted paddles having blades dished in a variety of ways.[3] The fact that the present discovery conforms to this type is valuable additional proof that it is the standard native kind.

In one respect, however, the Ballykilleen paddles differ from those from Moycraig, Cullentra and Meeltraun, the only ones on which we have any information about the way they were inserted into the stock of the millshaft. In these mills the blades of the paddles were vertical. In the Ballykilleen paddles the twist in their shafts implies that if they were mortised vertically into the stock their blades must have inclined backwards out of the perpendicular. To have the blades vertical it would be necessary to have the mortices sloping but, unless there was some special reason for having the twist in the shaft, it is hard to understand why the millwright should have gone to the considerable trouble of putting in the twist when he could have achieved his vertical blade by leaving blade and shaft in their natural single plane and mortising the shaft vertically into the stock. Unless, again, there was some special reason for having the twist it is hard to see why, if he wanted a sloping blade, he did not simply mortise a flat paddle into the stock at the requisite angle from the vertical. If logic can be applied to questions like these then, since the alternatives of a vertical or sloping blade could both have been readily achieved by using a flat paddle, logic demands that the twist must have been put in for some definite reason. Only two such reasons suggest themselves. Either the twisted paddle, as such, was considered desirable or a sloping blade was required but it was found that the sloping mortices necessary to give this effect while using a flat paddle were too difficult in execution or too unsatisfactory in result. Since a paddle cut into twist is weaker than a flat one of similar dimensions, the twist cannot have been considered a desirable feature in itself. On the other hand, as all the lines of a sloping mortice would meet the grain of the stock at an angle, it would, even with first class tools, be difficult to make a clean job of it, especially in a wood as tough as oak, and a vertical mortice, following the grain on its length and cutting at right angles across it on its width, would be sounder in workmanship and easier to make. If the mill-

[2] *J.R.S.A.I.*, 83 (1953), pp. 1-36. [3] *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.

wright was committed by these considerations to vertical mortices for his paddle shafts then we must conclude that the twist is there to produce a backward tilt in the blades.

As far as the scanty evidence allows us to judge, paddles with vertical blades, adapted to the near-horizontal delivery of a jet of water, appear to be the normal Irish type as contrasted with the sloping paddles, adapted to jets delivered from sharply inclined flumes, characteristic of mills in many other countries. If the above interpretation of the setting of the Ballykilleen paddles is correct they form an exception to the admittedly slenderly established rule. This may imply that the water here was delivered to the wheel at a steeper angle than in other cases but the existing remains gave no clue for checking this surmise.

The remains of the structure itself are open to two interpretations: either it is the wheelhouse of the mill building or the part of the mill pond immediately in front of the dam. If it be the former we must suppose that the wheel was set up somewhere on the wooden floor, that the water was led in across *Beam 1* in a wooden chute from the pond farther to the east and that the upper floor of the building where the millstones were placed was supported on its upright posts set in the mortices of *Beam 2*. If this were the case the question arises of how the opposite side of the building to the south was supported, since no corresponding foot-beam was found here, nor did it seem possible that there ever could have been one as the outermost floor board was partly buried under the bank, which itself was examined, without result, for any trace of a buried beam. In the absence of any foot-beam or wall the upper floor of the mill could only have been supported on this side by embedding its transverse timbers in the streambank itself.

This seems an improbable arrangement and a more satisfactory interpretation of the various features is possible if we accept the alternative suggestion that the structure is that part of the pond immediately in front of the dam. Similar wooden structures were found in that position in the mills discovered at Knockrour, Co. Cork, and at Morett, Co. Laoighis. At the former site were two converging walls formed of wooden planks set on edge and supported by upright posts: at the latter the walls were of the same kind but with the uprights tenoned into foot-beams between which was a remarkable wooden floor of transverse overlapping boards. In the present case there is a foot-beam (*Beam 2*) on one side only. In it are three mortices (*a, b, c*) which, on the analogy of the Morett mill, would have held upright posts slotted to hold a vertical series of boards on edge. One of the functions of the great earthen bank which formerly ran along this side of the stream would have been to form a backing for this wooden lining to sustain it against the pressure of the water on its inner face. The steep, high, solid streambank on the opposite side would have rendered such a lining unnecessary, thus explaining the absence of any foot-beam there. *Beam 1* would have no function except to provide a secure anchorage for the east ends of the floor boards and to prevent any inward

movement of *Beam 2*. This interpretation would accord with the fact that it has no mortices for supporting any kind of a superstructure. The dam with its sluice would have lain immediately beyond the west end of the floor. *Beam 3,* which must have lain somewhere near that spot, is long enough to have extended the full width of the channel and may have formed the foot-beam of the dam itself. If so, it is conceivable that its large rabbet may have housed both the sluice gate and the end of the wooden trough through which, in such mills, the water was led against the wheel. Some additional weight is lent to this suggestion by the fact that, as noted earlier, the beam must have lain with the rabbet upwards and to the south. This means that the water would have struck the wheel to turn it from left to right, the *deiseal* or sunwise turn, which tradition would have demanded for prosperous milling and which has been previously recorded in the case of the mill at Killogrone, Co. Kerry.[4]

It will be seen, then, that to regard the structure as the dam end of the pond is to account satisfactorily for all its main features. Indeed, only two minor items remain unexplained, both in *Beam 2*: mortice *c* and the part of mortice *d* opening on to the floor; but it would be presumptuous to suppose that in such a ruinous structure the original purpose of every detail can be correctly visualised.

The trough and the mill building with its undercroft for the wheel and its upper floor for the grinding mechanism, must have been situated some little distance west of the dam. The trough must have been removed at some time in the past for, had it remained, it is likely that it would have survived intact as so many of them did at other recorded sites.[5] Of the mill building no traces appear to have been noticed during the deepening work on the stream and our subsequent examination of its probable position revealed nothing. As much as possible of the scattered material of the dumps was scrutinised for pivot stones or other finds but, with the exception of the two paddle fragments, nothing came to light. It was not found possible to make a systematic search of the huge mass of excavated mud and stones but, although Mr. Kelly, the owner of the farm, undertook to keep a look out for objects when the dumps were spread on the field later in the year no further discoveries were made.

It is unfortunate that no evidence of date was found. No tradition of a mill appears to exist at present and none is recorded in the name books or letters of the Ordnance Survey of 1840, nor is the site marked on the maps. This probably means that all memory of its existence was extinct over a century ago. It does not appear on the Down Survey map of 1665/6 nor are there any literary references to it that the writer is aware of. Taking into account also that it lay under at least a metre of accumulated silt, it does not seem possible that it can be less than a couple of hundred years old, while it may, of course, be many times that span.

The Ballykilleen site confirms in several ways the evidence for a specific Irish version of the horizontal mill, so well exemplified at Morett

[4]*Ibid.*, p. 12.

[5]*Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.

and discernible even in the skimpy and unillustrated accounts of earlier discoveries of these structures. The paddles, as we have seen, conform to what can be recognised as a definite native type: a shafted paddle with a dished blade. At this site, too, the wooden lining of the pond banks in front of the dam, so highly developed at Morett and to be inferred from the descriptions of certain other sites, was found. Here, however, it was confined to one side of the pond, that formed by the artificial embankment to the north. This fact seems to prove that the necessity for this feature at so many Irish mills arises from the custom of building them, not directly on streams, but on artificial channels where the comparatively unstable material of the made embankments of the ponds rendered a lining of some kind vital near the dam if the pond were not to be endangered at that point by the collapse of the water-soaked soil of its banks. The construction of this lining also seems to have followed an established pattern, for both here and at Morett its framework consisted of a heavy foot-beam mortised to hold uprights which supported a screen of boards or planks. Characteristic also of both sites and, apparently, too, of a number of others is a wooden floor laid in the pond immediately in front of the dam.[6] It is interesting to note that a similar floor, but covered with a layer of heather, was discovered in a horizontal mill, dating from the beginning of our era, excavated at Bolle, North Jutland, Denmark, in 1946.[7] The planks ran in the direction of the stream, as in the Ballykilleen site. The excavator suggests that: " The planking with its carpet of heather was possibly meant to prevent the water of the reservoir . . . from finding its way beneath the dam. In former times as well as in living memory the practice of plugging dams in this way was common." The same explanation must also hold good for the wooden floors of Irish mill ponds, which are otherwise inexplicable.

This remarkable Danish discovery, of course, necessitates a revision of previous theories about the spread and chronology of the horizontal mill, which would now appear to have reached northern Europe at this early date by an eastern route.

Acknowledgements

To Mr. J. J. Kelly of Gageborough I am indebted for hospitality, help and information on my visits to the site; to Mr. John O'Leary of the Department of Agriculture for reporting the discovery to the Museum and for assistance in the course of the excavation; and to Miss M. J. P. Scannell of the National Museum for the identification of the timber used in the mill. To Dr. Axel Steensberg of the National Museum of Denmark and to Mr. Anders Jespersen of Virum, Denmark, I am very grateful for information about recent discoveries and studies of Danish mills.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

[7] Steensberg, Axel, *Bondehuse og Vandmøller i Danmark gennem 2000 År.* Copenhagen, 1952, pp. 52-53, 294-298.

Note

I take this opportunity of correcting two errors in my former article " The Horizontal Mill in Ireland ", this Journal, 83 (1953), pp. 1-36. The Lodge Park mentioned on p. 4 and in the list of sites on p. 35 is not the townland of that name in Co. Kildare but an estate near Freshford, Co. Kilkenny. I am grateful to Mr. R. S. Guinness of Lodge Park, Straffan, Co. Kildare, for drawing my attention to this mistake. In the list of sites the reference for Cullentra, Co. Mayo, should read *P.R.I.A.*, 26, C (1906-1907), pp. 265-273.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY IRISH TOMBSTONES

(Continued)

VIII. M. and T. Hancock and Miles Brien's "Signature Stone"

By Ada K. Longfield (Mrs. H. G. Leask), *Fellow*

Although an article on Miles Brien's work was published in this *Journal* for June, 1944,[1] and a curious unsigned design at St. Mullins was illustrated in the issue for July, 1946,[2] it was not till many years later that the opportunity occurred for examining St. Stephens graveyard, New Ross. As chance would have it (and despite the number of unrewarding excursions to places in the same vicinity) it was that particular graveyard that not only revealed an exceptionally fully signed example by Brien, but also a number of stones bearing new signatures—those of the Hancocks—thus adding the names of two more eighteenth century folk art "monumental specialists" and incidentally providing the identity of the carver of the memorial at St. Mullins referred to above.

The stone of about 1775 (to Elizabeth Roach, at Glendalough) which bears the remarkably full inscription "Dennes Cullen stonecutter Monaceed" has often been mentioned here as Cullen's "Signature Stone" and was illustrated in the *Journal* in 1943.[3] For Brien, however, no kind of address could be found as nothing more than some form of his name, or his initials, was ever included, even on his most clearly marked patterns. Consequently it was specially interesting at last to see a memorial in St. Stephens, New Ross, that bore the legend "Cut by Miles O'Brien from Raughduff near Killan". This second very informative "Signature Stone" commemorates Ann Welch, alias Hogan, who died in 1789 (pl. XIX). Of course the concentration of Brien's work in the neighbourhood of Enniscorthy[4] left little doubt that he probably belonged to that area, or that much of his raw material came from the mountain quarries of the Newtownbarry—Killann district. Nevertheless it was valuable to obtain positive evidence about exact location.

As can be seen from the illustration given here the stone is so badly weathered that parts of the design are now hard to trace. But enough remains to show that it is an ambitious example of Brien's elaborate *asymmetric* style, and the addition of such a full address to his signature

[1] *J.R.S.A.I.*, LXXIV, pp. 63-72.
[2] Ib. Vol. LXXVI, pl. VI.
[3] Ib. Vol. LXXIII, p. 37 and pl. iii 3.
[4] See distribution map on p. 64 of this *Journal* for June, 1944 (Vol. LXXIV).

St. Stephens, New Ross: to A. Welsh, *ob.* 1789. Cut by Miles O'Brien from Ranghduff, near Killan

(*a*)

(*b*)

St. Stephens, New Ross: (*a*) to D. Fitzgerald, *ob.* 1790. Signed "M. Hanck" (*b*) No signature to J. Murphy, *ob.* 1798.

suggests that he regarded it as a very " special order " indeed. Thus besides the three central crucifixes there are many attendant figures and also some subsidiary ornamentation—the gracefully carved IHS, the stiff cone-shaped trees, and the very unusual crowned angel bust in one corner. The Virgin of the Rosary and the soldiers in eighteenth century costume (unfortunately Stephaton with his lance and the centurion on horseback have almost weathered away) are already familiar from Cullen's patterns. At this apparently early phase in Brien's career he tended to imitate Cullen and similarly elaborate, rather immaturely executed designs of about 1786-92 can be seen at Adamstown and St. Mullins.[5] Later, when Brien acquired greater facility in carving, numerous purely symmetric patterns suggest other influences.

The identity of the carver (or carvers) of a few unusual designs, e.g. at St. Mullins, Killann, Kinnagh, etc., had long been a minor puzzle for the style of the carving alone was somewhat superior to that of most imitators of Cullen, Brien or Byrne. Consequently it was interesting to find that amongst a number of similarly executed patterns in St. Stephens graveyard, several were marked with varying forms of initials of the names M. and T. Hancock. The range of dates covered by the obituary notices[6] on these stones is so limited—1787-1800—that it suggests, incidentally, the output of two brothers, rather than that of a father and son. But that so very little of their work seems to have survived is rather surprising, considering that the better preserved of the dozen or so examples, observed thus far, display quite competent, and presumably experienced, craftsmanship. The Hancocks, however, appear to have favoured rather lower cutting in relief than did the other " monumental specialists " of that period. Much of the decoration they did may thus have gradually disappeared in the course of the last century and a half for it would have been more liable to serious deterioration from weathering, lichen, etc., than ornamentation carried out in a bolder manner.

Cutting in low relief; delineation of the crosses by slightly raised outlines; signatures or initials placed within the pattern, instead of just underneath, and the addition of diaper-like details to the upper edge of the stone, or below the pattern, are distinguishing features noticeable in their work. Again—so far as can be judged from such a small group of specimens—they varied their patterns with considerable ingenuity. Unfortunately several stones are too badly damaged for photographic reproduction, but a rough idea of one of M. Hancock's simpler, and perhaps less expensive styles, can be obtained from the accompanying illustration of the memorial at St. Stephens, to David Fitzgerald, who died in 1790 (pl. XX, *a*). Faint traces of the signature " M. Hanck." can be seen near one edge and somewhat similarly executed arrangements of the three Crucifixion crosses are found on memorials of *c.* 1787, to Thomas Gaul, at St. Mary's, New

[5] *J.R.S.A.I.*, Vol. LXXIV (1944), pp. 63-72.

[6] Such notices are only *approximate* guides to the actual dates of erection of memorials.

Ross; of *c.* 1790, to Philip Roche, at Kinnagh; of *c.* 1800 to Brien Curren, at St. Mullins. Again at St. Stephens, the slightly more elaborate design which commemorates James Murphy, who died in 1798, was surely executed by him too (pl. XX, *b*).

The most distinctive examples of M. Hancock's style, however, are those incorporating two angels hovering in clouds above two figures so highly stylised that they have almost the appearance of vases. On the stone at St. Stephens of *c.* 1791, erected by Darby Doyle in memory of his wife Mary Doyle, the letters " M. Hk." are cut beside the moon and just above the hammer and pincers. On the other side another Emblem of the Passion—the seamless garment—is placed above the sun (pl. XXI, *a*). A stone at Killann (obituary details illegible) shows similar vase-like figures and hovering angels. So does the rather ill-preserved, though clearly signed memorial of *c.* 1792, to Michael Henessy, which is also in St. Stephens graveyard. But it is their inclusion in the ambitious design of *c.* 1792, commemorating Ellinor Cullin, at St. Mullins, that is still more interesting (pl. XXI, *b*). The affinity of the whole style of this pattern—cutting, outline to crucifix, ornamental edging—to M. Hancock's marked specimens, and especially to the Mary Doyle memorial of 1791, leaves little doubt that it too was by his hand. Unusual as is the portrayal of Judas balanced on top of the thirty pieces of silver, it is nevertheless in harmony with the vase-like figures of the Virgin and the Magdalene, and there is even a faint suggestion of the letter " M." on the pot out of which the cock of Judas (not the Biblical cock of St. Peter) is rising.[7]

As only four stones bearing either the name or initials of T. Hancock have been recorded so far, and two of these are in poor condition, comparatively little need be said about his style. Apart from characteristics already referred to, like low relief cutting, etc., he seems to have been less imaginative than M. Hancock, and more inclined to copy from Byrne. For instance this tendency is particularly marked in the delineation of the stiff draperies of the very stylised figures of the Virgin and the Magdalene on the stone of *c.* 1795, to Martin Doyle, at St. Stephens, which has the initials "T.H." near the diaper ornament under the moon (pl. XXII, *a*). Nearby, in the same graveyard, another stone of *c.* 1795 (to John Hanrick) and likewise marked " T. H." under the moon, shows similarly executed figures, though the spray of foliage and the two angel busts near the sun may well have been inspired by some of Brien's work (pl. XXII, *b*). But Hancock was capable of more ambitious designs than these. Thus, though the stone in St. Stephens, of *c.* 1791, to Michael Waul, is badly weathered, enough of the decoration is visible to indicate that it closely resembles that on a slightly better preserved memorial at St. Mullins which is reproduced here (pl. XXIII) and which was erected in memory of Mary Doran, alias Doyle, who died in 1793. In both these patterns handsome cocks are balanced on the edges of pots sufficiently well rounded to provide space for the

[7] Derived from the story in the Apocryphal Gospels about the wife of Judas and cock she was roasting that rose from the pot and crowed thrice.

a

b

(*a*) St. Stephens, New Ross: To Mary Doyle, *ob.* 1791. Signed " M. HK "
(*b*) St. Mullins: to E. Cullin, *ob.* 1792

a

b

St. Stephens, New Ross: (*a*) to Martin Doyle, *ob*. 1795. Signed " T. HK "
(*b*) to J. Hanrick, *ob*. 1795. Signed " T. H "

St. Mullins: To Mary Doran, *ob.* 1793. Signed " T. Hanck " (on pot)

signature " T. Hanck." and angels hover over the enormous halos of the conventional attendant figures. The sun and moon—the most commonly depicted Emblems in Crucifixion scenes—appear on both stones, but careful examination of the illustration from St. Mullins reveals a face on the now somewhat blurred motive above the moon, showing that it represents St. Veronica's veil, and not the more frequently depicted seamless garment.

In conclusion I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to the Belfast Natural and Philosophical Society for permission to use the block of Brien's " Signature Stone ", and to my husband for once more providing all the photographs.

MISCELLANEA

NORTH CROSS AT AHENNY: A SUGGESTED INTERPRETATION

Around the base of the North Cross, Ahenny, Co. Tipperary, there are four sculptured panels. The scenes represented are:—

1). On the south face two men in a chariot drawn by two horses and preceded by a curious bird or animal. A dog either on the shaft of the chariot or in the background—it is difficult to make out which.

2). On the east face—a man standing beneath a palm tree, beside him a number of animals.

3). On the north face a procession consisting of a man cloaked similarly to the seven figures on the west face; behind him two figures, the first carrying a cross, the second a staff or crozier and leading a horse bearing a headless body at which two birds seem to peck. Before the horse a dog, behind a man carrying what appears to be the head belonging to the body.

4). On the west face—seven cloaked figures carrying staffs or croziers.

The scene on the north face appears also on a cross in Dromiskin, Co. Louth and there have been several interpretations of it, none of them altogether satisfactory. I should like to suggest a possible interpretation—that the headless body is that of Art, son of Conn and King of Tara, who was killed at the battle of Mucrama about A.D. 195. The story of the battle is given in the Book of Leinster. (*Silva Gadelica,* p. 310) It took place in Galway near Kilcornan and during the course of the battle Art's head was struck from his body. Turlach Airt near Kilcornan is known as the place where his head and shoulders fell off; his body—carried on—fell at a spot, marked up till the end of the last century, by a great stone called Leth Airt.

The battle came about thus:—

Eogan Mór, son of Ailill Olum, King of Munster, had a dispute with his stepbrother Lugaid, also called MacCon. MacCon retired to Scotland and returning thence with a large army proceeded to lay waste the country. Art, son of Conn, and Ard Ri, proceeded against MacCon. With Art fought Eogan Mór and seven other of the sons of Ailill Olum. MacCon was victorious and himself struck the head from the body of Art. Eogan Mór and six of his brothers were slain, one brother, Cormac Cas surviving.

This battle belongs to the " Leinster Cycle " but a Christian episode has been interpolated into the tale. The earliest version of this Christian episode appears as a poem in the LU, and has been translated by John

(1)

(2)

(3)

(4)

North Cross, Ahenny: four sculptured panels

MacNeill in a paper entitled " Three Poems in Middle Irish relating to the Battle of Mucrama ". (*P.R.I.A.*, Vol. 19, p. 529) This poem is ascribed to Art and is supposed to have been delivered on his hunting mound at Trevet near Tara in Meath. (There is still to-day a small mound beside the ruined church at Trevet.) Delivering this poem the day before he set out for battle, Art prophesied the coming of Christianity to Ireland, the future greatness of the monastery of Trevet and a special sort of relationship between himself and St. Lonan after his death and burial. Professor Gerard Murphy has very kindly examined this poem and accepts MacNeill's suggestion that it is in middle Irish and dates it to the 10th century with the note that its forms *might* be emended to suit the 9th century but could not be emended to suit the 8th. However there is no real reason to make it conform to an early date as it could be a traditional tale written down in the 10th century. Professor MacNeill says of the poem:—

> "This episode, a Christian interpolation, is found with a very corrupt version of the accompanying poem in all the modernized copies of the tale that I have examined. These copies are therefore derived from a source known to the LU writer as existing in his day. For a list of later versions see "Essai d'un Catalogue" etc., by H. D'Arbois de Jubainville".

" The Prophecies of the Saints " played an important part in the early church and there are several attributed to persons who lived before the coming of Christianity to Ireland—to Conn of the Hundred Battles, to King Cormac MacArt, to Finn MacCool. The story of the death of Art must have been popular for it passed into the language as " Comh marbh le hArt " the equivalent of " As Dead as Queen Anne ".

Granted the story being well known in the 8th or 9th centuries and Art regarded as an early prophet of Christianity there would be every reason for incorporating representatives of him on a monastic cross.

The scenes on the Ahenny Cross could be interpreted as:—

South panel—a representation of Art setting out to battle.

North panel—The funeral procession of Art. The following are extracts from the poem upon which this scene could have been based:

7. No thogfaind mo chlíu ma uir úarda band
for nim iar mbráth gloud don drong conbía and

8. Ge fía dig fa húir as fír is ni gó
la lúth aingel ngel doberthar nem do

9. Bádat ail cach clúain niptar dirna oiss
Immá duma dess hi tairndfet do chroiss

---

11. Messi MacCon dín bat budig brain
Torsi ac mnail anír loing ac mnaib anair

---

17. Ticfa in tailcend tend cona muintir maith
nom nigfea domm ucht ar in phurt in flaith

18. Faícfid acom sund nech dá tic mo dín
bid moti bas trén mo scél hi tig rig

---

19. Ic dígail ar cned misi ⁊ mo náem
bid mé in t-ere mór is ma thene ram tháeb

---

7. I should choose my body to be under the earth, chill its death.
In heaven, after judgment of deeds for the multitude, that it may be there.

8. Though it decay under earth, it is true and not false,
By the power of bright angels, heaven shall be given to it.

9. Every meadow will be pleasing to thee; the deer have not been allowed
Around its mound on the south, on which they will plant thy cross

---

11. I and MacCon, from us ravens will be sated (there will be)
Journeys by women from the west, voyages from women from the East.

---

17. The strong Tailcend will come with his good household;
He will cleanse me to my breast on the spot, the prince.

18. He will leave with me here one from whom my protection comes (St. Lonan)
It will be the more (on that account) that my story will be great in the house of kings.

19. In avenging our wounds, I and my saint,
I shall be the great burden and my fire (St. Lonan) by my side.

In these stanzas we have references to a cross to be planted on the mound, ravens sating themselves on the bodies of MacCon and Art; and in the last three stanzas references to St. Lonan and the special protection he is to afford the body of Art. I suggest the cross-bearer on the panel may represent St. Lonan—it matters not that it is an anachronism since the whole poem is anachronistic—that the figure preceding the cross is Cormac Cas surviving son of Ailill Olum.

East panel—A representation of the seven sons of Ailill Olum killed at the Battle of Mucrama, Eogan, Ailill Olum's favourite son in the middle:—

Mo shecht maicc ro-s-marb MacCon
issé a ngol nglechrach ngarg
Dubmercon Mug Corp Eogan
dugaid Echaid Dichorp Tadc.
Tánic Art
chuchum d'iasacht mo shecht macc
dá ternad Eogan ar sét
barfhaelsaind éc mo shé macc.
Romthacht-sa cuma Eogain
dochuaid ar ciabair mo chiall
orom fadéin ro-thrascrus
nachocum fadéin ro-thascius cián.

My seven sons, MacCon slew them, he is (the cause of)
their vehement wild bewailing, Dubmarcon, Mug Corp,
Eogan, Lugaid, Echaid, Dichorp, Tadg.

Art came to me to borrow my seven sons,
if Eogan came away on (his) path, I should
welcome the death of my six sons.
Grief for Eogan has choked me, my reason has gone into gloominess.

The above lines are from a lament of Ailill Olum over the death of his seven sons and are from a poem in the Book of Leinster, p. 146 B, dealt with by Professor MacNeill in the paper already referred to. The poem ends with words of advice from Ailill Olum to his surviving son Cormac Cas. The seven figures are dressed similarly to the figure which precedes the cross-bearer in the funeral procession. All the figures in the three panels have curious collars or hoods on their shoulders. The staffs may be pilgrim's staffs representing the sanctity of the seven men. *cf.* a prophecy ascribed to Conn of the Hundred Battles.

"A Tailcenn shall come, he will erect cities, music houses, with gables and angles, many kings will take up pilgrim staffs."

(O'Curry MSS. mat. p. 387)

The anachronisms as before seem to be immaterial.

East panel—This panel is more difficult to identify with the tale. It might possibly represent the little fairy man with the timpan under the phantom yew tree. He was the original cause of the dispute between MacCon and his foster brothers. It might represent Art the Lonely on his hunting mound.

The poem contains no reference to the dog which figures prominently on the North and South faces.

Elizabeth Hickey

THE ATHASSEL ABBEY TOMB: A CORRECTION

In my paper "An Altar Tomb at Athassel Abbey, Co. Tipperary" (*J.R.S.A.I.*, vol. 76 (1946) pp. 215-218), I stated that the stone of the carved tomb-front belonged to the New Red Sandstone series and—for this reason—might well have been imported from the neighbourhood of Chester. Recently, being in correspondence with Dr. F. J. North, of the Dept. of Geology of the National Museum of Wales on another subject, it occurred to me to ask his opinion on the stone used in the Athassel tomb. A small fragment, kindly supplied by Mr. W. P. LeClerc, Inspector of National Monuments, was sent by me to Dr. North. He has made a careful examination and tests and has favoured me with his conclusions. These are given here by his permission.

"Either the identification as New Red Sandstone was made on a stone absolutely different from the fragment you have sent me, or else whoever made the indentification was misled by the rather coarse granular appearance and pinkish matrix.

"The rock is, in fact, not sandstone at all, but a limestone, and what looked like grains of sand are oolitic grains. Except for some very fine-grained silty matter the rock is entirely soluble in dilute Hydrochloric Acid.

"The rock is limestone from Dundry near Bristol, and the pink tint is due to the oxidation of the ferruginous matter in the matrix, for normally the stone has a rich cream colour.

"I have from time to time seen Dundry stone from old buildings badly affected by uprising water from the soil and also after it has been buried in soil, but have never seen any suggestion of pink discoloration from these causes. The matrix of the stone does, however, assume a pinkish tinge when heated in air to a temperature far below that at which the rock begins to decompose and yield lime.

"I have heated a fragment taken from an old building of about 1850 and find that the colour produced is of the same general character as the Athassel fragment; though not so bright, soaking in water brightens it.

"It can therefore be stated, with as much certainty as is ever possible in circumstances like these that the rock is limestone from Dundry, and it can also be suggested as a possible cause of the red discoloration that at some time before burial the slab had been subjected to considerable but not intense heat. Can the building in which it was originally placed have been burnt down—or could the stone have been deliberately heated to make it red? These are questions that I would not attempt to answer, but I do not think there can be any doubt but that the red tint was not a feature of the rock as it lay in the quarry."

[It is quite possible (though not recorded) that the Abbey was burned at some time and that the debris of a burning roof was in contact with the stone. H. G. L.]

"Dundry stone would of course satisfy the requirement that it should be available for water transport from the Bristol Channel region, for the quarries are near the River Avon at Bristol and the stone was taken thence by water for use in Chepstow Castle (c. 1225-1245) and Llandaff Cathedral (c. 1225-1250)—periods not far removed from the one to which your Athassel Monument is assigned—and also from the early de Burghs you mention.

"The reference in your paper to the de Burghs and the Earls of Ulster is not without significance. I am not of course an authority on such matters, but I recall reading that Elizabeth de Burgh, widow of John de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, had interests in the Lordship of Gower in South Wales, whilst Matilda, daughter of John, was buried at Tewkesbury in 1315. This seems to connect the Bristol Channel with Athassel for as your paper notes, Richard, 2nd Earl of Ulster, was buried there in 1326.

"In these circumstances the possible derivation from Chester and the Dee suggested in your paper has to be ruled out because the stone did not come from the Cheshire 'New Red': moreover the personal associations are with the Bristol Channel, and not with the Dee.

"The identification of the stone as sandstone has led to misinterpretation of its weathered condition. Dundry is excellent for outside use and has been extensively used. Some of the thirteenth century external work at Llandaff is in fine condition, although some in damp sheltered situations has tended to exfoliate.

"Being a freestone the slab-like character of the Athassel Mass is due to cutting or trimming and not to the bedding of the rock and it would not matter whether the slab were placed horizontally or vertically. The loss of detail in the carving can be accounted for by the long exposure to dampnesss. Some of the blocks in a doorway at Chepstow, like those in similar situation at Llandaff, have lost their edges because they occur near the ground in a sheltered spot and have been continually damp.

"The 'shaling' is exfoliation due to the crystallisation of salts beneath the surface of the slab and not to peeling off along bedding or lamination planes.

"It would be interesting to enquire if there is any other evidence of traffic between the Bristol Channel and the Irish river-side buildings."

F. J. NORTH

Dept. of Geology, National Museum of Wales, Cardiff

Briefly, the stone is not of the New Red series nor from the Dee but a limestone and from a specific quarry: that of Dundry, near Bristol. Dr. North's conclusions demolish a surmise, and replace it by a fact which I am glad to place on record.

H. G. Leask

OBITUARY

PATRICK J. LYONS

Mr. Patrick J. Lyons, who died on the 30th of August at his home in Clonmel, was born at Lisronagh, Co. Tipperary 94 years ago. He joined the Society in 1905, became a Fellow fifteen years later and was made an Honorary Fellow in 1953 to mark his long participation in the work of the Society and his services to archaeology and to local history.

While his calling in life as a member of the Royal Irish Constabulary was doubtless prosaic enough, his deepest and most abiding interests were the remains of the past in Ireland, its history and folklore. Such time as he could spare from his official duties he spent in the exploration of the countryside in search of antiquities. Before the publication of any work over his own name in the Journal he did much field work for the late Hubert J. Knox in the examination and mapping of the earthworks of Mayo and Roscommon described by the latter in his papers on Cruachain Ai, etc. This early interest in earthworks led Lyons in later years to a study of those of a later date: Anglo-Norman motes and the like—see his papers on Kilfinane, Lisronagh, etc., in *J.R.S.A.I.*, vols. XLI and LXVII.

He contributed many articles on local history to the Clonmel *Nationalist* and another on the Norman Burgh of Clonmel to our *Journal*, vol. LXVI.

A generous, extremely modest and retiring man Mr. Lyons deliberately kept out of the public eye, contenting himself with researches in his chosen fields and—surprisingly—in the acquisition, self-taught and at a quite advanced age, of the languages of Greece and Rome in which he read a great deal. Among the many friends who will miss him is the writer of this notice who remembers with gratitude much assistance given by Mr. Lyons in past years.

H. G. Leask

BOOK REVIEWS

JOURNAL OF THE CORK HISTORICAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY. VOL. LVIII, NO. 188. July-December, 1953.

In "Les Vies de S. Finnbarr de Cork", Rev. Paul Grosjean, S.J. gives a summary of his conclusions concerning three mediæval Offices relating to St. Finnbarr. E. M. Fahy describes the excavation of a Souterrain at Ballyarra, Co. Cork. "A Capuchin Poet of the Jacobite Wars", by Rev. T. J. Walsh, M.A., is an account of Father Patrick O'Grady and his poem which is of special interest as it is the only known copy of a work by a Capuchin priest of Cork. Séamus Pender deals with the Guilds of Waterford, 1650-1700 in "Studies in Waterford History—X". An interesting article by John T. Collins is "The Emmet Family Connections with Munster". Michael Quane continues "Tour in Ireland by John Harden in 1797". Seán Ó Coindealbháin, M.A. deals with Corkmen in Emmet's Rising in "The United Irishmen in Cork County—VIII".

C. S.

SEANCHAS ARDMHACHA. JOURNAL OF THE ARMAGH DIOCESAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY. VOL. 1, NO. 1, 1954.

This, the first number of the Armagh Journal, opens with an article, "Armagh and Louth in the Twelfth Century", by Rev. Aubrey Gwynn, S.J. Rev. Canice Mooney, O.F.M. in "The Franciscan Third Order Friary at Dungannon", studies the history of this Friary which was one of those religious communities of men who as members of the Third Order Secular of St. Francis and following hitherto their ordinary callings in the world began in Ireland about the beginning of the fifteenth century in conjunction with a similar movement in other European countries to band themselves together in little religious communities. Patrick Tohall gives an account of Patrick James O'Byrne, Rector of the Irish College, Nantes, then President of Maynooth College and finally Dean of Armagh Archdiocese. An Early Fragment on Saint Patrick in Ui Briúin Breifne contained in the Life of Saint Benén (Benignus) of Armagh is studied by Rev. Paul Grosjean, S.J. "Astronomy in Armagh" by Colin Johnston Robb gives an account of the building of Armagh's well-known Observatory. "Lorcán Ó Muireadhaigh Staraí" by Rev. Tomás Ó Fiaich is a tribute of homage from Seanchas Ardmhacha to one who for forty years worked alone as a historian of the Archdiocese. Dr. Séamus Ó Ceallaigh, in an informative article, discusses the northern boundary of the Archdiocese of Armagh. "The Church-lands of Co. Armagh", by Michael Clancy is a re-publication from the large volume of Ulster Inquisitions, published in 1829, of that portion of the text which concerns the ecclesiastical lands situated in Co. Armagh. Spelling and punctuation, however, have been modernised; contractions have been expanded; wrong word-divisions in the 1829 volume have been corrected; and capitals have been introduced in accordance with current usage. A very interesting article is "The High Crosses of Co. Louth. A Photographic Survey with notes on the Monuments" by Helen M. Roe. "Voices from the Grave" are notes from the pen of the late Hugh Kelly, written between 1913 and 1918, and containing some interesting items of information which seem to be hitherto unrecorded. Rev. Brendan MacEvoy, C.C. gives the history of the Parish of Errigal Kiernan in the Nineteenth Century. "The Territory of Ballymacone and its Associations with the McCones" is an account of researches by T. G. F. Paterson which disclosed the fact that the sept once held a tract of over 6,000 acres and that the lands formed a definite region described by various authorities as the territory of Ballymacone. An interesting account of Dunleer is furnished by Pádraig Ó Fachtna, O.S. in "Dunleer through the Ages". "Chronicle for 1953" records all activities of the preceding year which can either illuminate the past of the Archdiocese or preserve the present for the future. "Survey of Recent Publications" is a section of the Journal devoted to the comments of writers on books connected with the history and antiquities of the archdiocese of Armagh or possessing some special interest for local readers, which have appeared within the past few years. In "MS. Material for Diocesan and Parochial History" a summary catalogue of Armagh material in the Library of the Representative Church Body, Dublin, is given.

C. S.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR 1954

At the Annual General Meeting of the Society held at the Society's House on January 26, 1954 the following were elected to their respective offices:—

PRESIDENT:—Professor Seán P. Ó Ríordáin, Ph.D. D.Litt. *Fellow*

VICE-PRESIDENTS:—*Ulster*—Lady Dorothy Lowry-Corry, *Fellow*

Munster—Dr. E. MacLysaght, *Fellow*

Connacht—Dr. T. B. Costello, *Fellow*

HON. GENERAL SECRETARY:—A. T. Lucas, M.A., *Member*

HON. TREASURERS:—J. Maher, *Member,* and B. J. Cantwell, *Member*

MEMBERS OF COUNCIL:—Dr. G. Simms, *Member,* Dr. George Little, *Member,* Seán Ó Súilleabháin, *Member,* and H. F. Kearney, *Member*

During the year eight meetings of the Society were held. The papers read and lectures given are listed in the Journal for 1955 at p. 130-131.

The following nominations for President, Officers and Members of Council for 1955 were received:—

PRESIDENT:—Professor Seán P. Ó Ríordáin, Ph.D., D.Litt., *Fellow*

HON. GENERAL SECRETARY:—A. T. Lucas, M.A., *Member*

HON. TREASURERS:—J. Maher, *Member,* and B. J. Cantwell *Member.*

MEMBERS OF COUNCIL:—R. de Valéra, Ph.D.; Senator Professor Michael Hayes and Máire McDermott, Ph.D.

The foregoing nominations being in accordance with the Statutes and Bye-Laws and not in excess of the several vacancies, the persons named are to be declared elected to the respective offices for which they have been nominated.

The Council has nominated Mr. R. E. Cross, *Member,* and Dr. A. Farrington, *Member,* as Hon. Auditors for the year 1955.

Meetings of the Society will be held during the year 1955 as follows:—

Tuesday, January 25	... ...	Annual General Meeting.
„ March 1	... ...	Meeting for Paper.
„ April 19	... ...	Quarterly Meeting.
„ June 7	... ...	Meeting for Paper.
		Quarterly (Summer) Meeting.
„ September 20	... ...	Quarterly Meeting.
„ November 1	... ...	Meeting for Paper.
„ December 6	... ...	Statutory Meeting.

During the year nine meetings of the Council were held at which the attendance was as follows:—

Prof. Seán P. Ó Ríordáin, *President* ...	5
Dr. H. G. Leask, *Past President* ...	5
Rev. Dr. John Ryan, S.J., *Past President* ...	0
District Justice Liam Price *Past President* ...	3
Lady Dorothy Lowry-Corry *Vice-President* ...	0
Dr. E. MacLysaght, *Vice-President* ...	0
Mr. G. F. Mitchell, *Vice-President* ...	3
Dr. T. B. Costello, *Vice-President* ...	0
Mr. A. T. Lucas, *Hon. General Secretary* ...	9
Mr. John Maher, *Hon. Treasurer* ...	1
Mr. B. J. Cantwell, *Hon. Treasurer* ...	5
Mr. H. E. Kilbride-Jones, *Hon. Editor* ...	4
Dr. E. St. John Brooks, *Member* ...	9
*Dr. Liam O'Sullivan, *Member* ...	1
Mr. P. J. Hartnett, *Member* ...	6
Mr. J. R. W. Goulden, *Member* ...	8
†Mr. P. F. Nyhan, *Member* ...	4
Dr. George Little, *Member* ...	0
†Prof. Myles Dillon, *Member* ...	2
§Mr. R. E. Cross, *Member* ...	9
B. Mac Giolla Phádraig, *Member* ...	7
Dr. J. G. Simms, *Member* ...	7
Seán Ó Súilleabháin, *Member* ...	4
Mr. H. F. Kearney, *Member* ...	6

†Co-opted February 24th, 1954

§Co-opted September 16th, 1953

*Co-opted February 22nd, 1952

EXCURSIONS

During the year the following excursions were made:—

May 8, 1954.—To Ardsallagh church, Bective and Tlachtga Fort. The party, which numbered 74, was guided by Dr. H. G. Leask, Mr. P. J. Hartnett and Mr. A. T. Lucas.

July 6-10, 1954.—To Co. Sligo. The party, which numbered 74, was welcomed to Sligo by the Mayor of Sligo, Alderman Stephen Bergin, and entertained by the County Sligo Field Club at a reception held in the Technical School. The following sites were visited under the guidance of Mr. Patrick Tohall Dr. R. de Valéra and Mr. A. T. Lucas:—Drumcliff (round tower and high cross), Creevykeel (court cairn), Cashelbaun (cashel and souterrain), Lisnalurga (rath), Deerpark (megaliths), Park's Castle, Dromahair (Abbey), Heapstown (cairn), Moytura (megaliths), Carrowkeel (passage graves), Ballymote (castle), Slieve Gamh (megaliths), Gortakeeran (megaliths), Cabragh (cashel), Ballysodare Abbey, Carrowmore (passage graves), Sligo Abbey.

September 25, 1954.—To North County Dublin where the party, which numbered 91 and was guided by Dr. H. G. Leask and Professor Seán P. Ó Ríordáin, visited the following sites:—Dunsoghley (castle), St. Doulogh's (church and well), Lusk (church and round tower), and Loughshinny (promontory fort).

MEMBERSHIP

During the year 8 Fellows and 31 Members were added to the Society's Roll.

Fellows.—Most Rev. Dr. John C. McQuaid; Dr. Michael J. O'Neill; Messrs. John J. Cusack; Gerald Dillon; Tadhg McCarthy; Hugh Larkin; Rev. C. A. Morwood Meldrum and Rev. Alfred Russell Scott.

Members.—Messrs. Louis P. Maguire; P. J. Paley; E. W. Hughes; T. D. Williams; R. W. Wilkinson; Peter G. Dunne; Newby Chase; K. J. Hewett; Dr. V. T. H. Delany; Martin Naughten; A. G. Clarke; K. B. Nowlan; Michael McCarthy; Dr. Patrick Heraughty; Brother Superior, Marist Brothers, Athlone; Major R. B. Aldridge; Miss Margaret Griffith; Miss E. M. Healy; Mrs. J. C. Brindley; Miss J. B. Jennings; The Librarian, Manchester University; Major W. S. Corken; Fógra Fáilte; The Inspector of National Monuments; The Rt. Hon. Viscountess de Vesci; Mrs. K. Garvin; Rev. T. Ó Fiaich; Rev. Brother Superior, Marists Brothers, Sligo; Miss Aileen M. King; Mrs. Michael McCarthy and Mrs. K. M. Wilton.

The deaths of 1 Hon. Fellow, 2 Fellows and 8 Members were recorded:

Hon. Fellow.—Mr. Patrick Lyons.

Fellows.—Dr. Dorothy Price, Mr. E. Byrne Hackett.

Members.—Mrs. J. A. Geoghegan, Dr. Séamas Ó Ceallaigh, Rev. W. B. Steele, Mr. Justice John O'Byrne, Mr. Samuel Cunningham, Mr. Newby Chase, Mr. J. S. Gibb and Dr. T. P. Kirkpatrick.

The resignations of 21 Members were accepted.

The names of the following have been removed from the Roll under Rule 10—they may be restored to membership on payment of the amounts due:—

Fellows.—Rev. W. E. McIver, Seán Mac Na Midhe.

Members.—H. Cravitz, Miss T. M. C. Dargan, Professor Michael V. Duignan, H. W. Edmonds, Professor A. M. Fowler, F. J. Hanly, Rev. J. C. Lehane, Thomas Maguire, Dr. R. C. Simington, Mrs. W. J. Soper, Dr. Ann M. Stafford.

The losses to the Society by deaths and resignations amounted to 32. The number removed from the Roll under Rule 10 amounted to 13 and the accessions amounted to 39.

The number of Fellows and Members now on the Roll is distributed as follows:—

Honorary Fellows	...	...	8
Life Fellows	...	...	30
Fellows	...	...	89
Life Members	...	...	37
Members	...	...	560
	TOTAL	...	724

FINANCE

The total receipts from subscriptions, rents, dividends, sale of publications, etc., was £2,072 19s. 8d.

The expenditure was £1,934 6s. 7d. as follows:—Final payment for printing *Calendar of Archbishop Alen's Register* £200; printing the Journal, 1953, Part 2, 1954, Part 1 and illustrating 1954, Part 2, £696 9s. 0d.; in advance for printing 1954 Part 2, £250; rents, salaries, insurance, stationery, excursions and general expenses, £787 17s. 7d.

The Society holds investments of £100 Irish Free State 4th National Loan, £1,010 2s. 0d. Dublin Corporation 5% Redeemable Stock, £280 New Land Bonds, £155 Post Office Saving Certificates and £212 5s. 0d. deposit in Post Office Saving Bank.

LIBRARY

In addition to current periodicals the following publications have been received:—

L'Art Prehistorique by George Sesson, presented by Miss G. C. Stacpoole.

The Antiquarian Itinerary Vol. 2; *Art Readings* for 1880; *History of Greece* by William Smith; *Tour of the Sepulchres of Etruria* by Mrs. H. Grey; *Letters from Maynooth* Ed. Reverend Brother Luke, F.S.C., presented by Dr. Seán Mac Uistín.

For Review:—

Teach Yourself Archaeology by S. Graham Brade-Birks.

Lyles Hill by Dr. E. E. Evans.

The Art and Antique Restorers' Handbook by George Savage.

Victorian Architect by J. D. Forbes.

Teach Yourself Anthropology by J. Manchip White.

Wadding Papers 1614-1638 Ed. Brendan Jennings, O.F.M.

The Correspondence of Emily Duchess of Leinster Vol. II, Ed. Brian Fitzgerald.

Photography for Archaeologists by M. B. Cookson.

PROCEEDINGS

Meetings of the Society were held as follows:—

1.—*January 26, 1954.*—Annual General Meeting at the Society's House, Dublin, at 8 p.m. Chairman: PROFESSOR SEÁN P. Ó RÍORDÁIN, *President.*

No other nominations having been received the Chairman declared the following elected to their respective offices:—

President.—PROFESSOR SEÁN P. Ó RÍORDÁIN, *Fellow.*

Vice-President for Ulster.—LADY DOROTHY LOWRY-CORRY, *Fellow.*

Vice-President for Munster.—DR. E. MacLYSAGHT, *Fellow.*

Vice-President for Connacht.—DR. T. B. COSTELLO, *Hon. Fellow.*

Hon. General Secretary.—A. T. LUCAS, *Member.*

Hon. Treasurers.—JOHN MAHER, *Member,* and B. J. CANTWELL, *Member.*

Members of Council.—DR. J. G. SIMMS, *Member,* DR. G. A. LITTLE, *Member,* H. F. KEARNEY, *Member,* and SEÁN Ó SÚILLEABHÁIN, *Member.*

On the recommendation of the Council G. B. SYMES, *Member* and R. E. CROSS, *Member* were appointed Honorary Auditors for the year 1954.

The report of the Council for 1953 was adopted.

Six members were elected.

Mr. H. F. KEARNEY, *Member,* delivered an illustrated lecture entitled " The Battle of Kinsale ".

2.—*March 2, 1954.*—Ordinary Meeting at the Society's House at 8 p.m. Chairman: PROFESSOR SEÁN P. Ó RÍORDÁIN, *President.*

A lecture entitled " Early Survivals in Irish Folk Life " was delivered by MR. A. T. LUCAS, *Hon. General Secretary.*

3.—*April 27, 1954.*—Quarterly Meeting at the Society's House at 8 p.m. Chairman: DR. E. ST. JOHN BROOKS, *Member.* Two fellows and ten members were elected.

The Report of the Hon. Auditors for the year 1953 was adopted.

A paper entitled "Carlow in the Middle Ages" was read by MR. WILLIAM NUGENT, *Member.*

4.—*June 1, 1954.*—Ordinary Meeting at the Society's House at 8 p.m. Chairman: PROFESSOR SEÁN P. Ó RÍORDÁIN, *President.*

An illustrated lecture entitled " Prehistoric Mining in Ireland " was delivered by MR. J. C. BRINDLEY, *Member.*

5.—*July 6, 1954.*—Quarterly Meeting at the Technical School, Sligo (by kind permission of the Sligo Vocational Education Committee). Chairman: DISTRICT JUSTICE LIAM PRICE, *Past President.* Three fellows and two members were elected. Mr. Patrick Tohall gave an illustrated talk on the sites to be visited during the summer excursion and Dr. Heraughty gave a commentary on a series of coloured slides of Innismurray shown by Mr. James Hughes.

6.—*September 21, 1954.*—Quarterly Meeting at the Society's House at 8 p.m. Chairman: Dr. H. G. LEASK, *Past President.* Two fellows and four members were elected. A lecture entitled " The Ancient Irish Schools of Poetry, Medicine and Law " was delivered by BRIAN Mac GIOLLA PHÁDRAIG, *Member.*

7.—*November 3, 1954.*—Ordinary Meeting at the Society's House at 8 p.m. Chairman: PROFESSOR SEÁN P. Ó RÍORDÁIN, *President.* Mr. G. F. MITCHELL, *Fellow,* delivered an illustrated lecture on " Some Scandinavian Antiquities ".

8.—*December 7, 1954.*—Statutory Meeting at the Society's House. Chairman: PROFESSOR SEÁN P. Ó RÍORDÁIN *President.* Eleven members were elected. Vacancies were declared for Officers and Members of the Council for the year 1955. Mr. P. J. HARTNETT, *Member,* delivered an illustrated lecture entitled " Aspects of Single Grave Burial in the Irish Bronze Age ".

The Spring Excursion was held on May 8 to Ardsallagh Church, Bective (Abbey and souterrain) and Tlachtga. The party, which numbered 74, was guided by Dr. H. G. Leask, Mr. P. J. Hartnett and Mr. A. T. Lucas.

The Summer Excursion was held from July 6-10 with Sligo as centre. On July 6 the party, which numbered 74 was entertained by the Sligo Field Club and welcomed to Sligo by the Mayor, Alderman Stephen Bergin. Guided by Mr. Patrick Tohall Dr. R. de Valéra and Mr. A. T. Lucas the party visited the following sites:—Drumcliff, Creevykeel, Cashelbaun, Lisnalurga, Deerpark, Park's Castle, Dromahair, Heapstown, Moytura, Carrowkeel, Ballymote, Gortakeeran, Cabragh, Ballysodare Abbey, Carrowmore, and Sligo Abbey.

The Autumn Excursion was held on September 25 to Dunsoghley Castle, St. Doulogh's Church, Lusk Church and Round Tower and Lough Shinny Promontory Fort. The party numbered 91 and was guided by Dr. H. G. Leask and Professor Seán P. Ó Ríordáin.

THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL FOR 1955

PRESIDENT ... Professor Seán P. Ó Ríordáin.

PAST PRESIDENTS ... Dr. H. G. Leask.
Rev. Dr. John Ryan, S. J.
District Justice Liam Price.

VICE-PRESIDENTS ... Lady Dorothy Lowry-Corry (*Ulster*).
Dr. E. MacLysaght (*Munster*).
G. F. Mitchell (*Leinster*).
Dr. T. B. Costello (*Connacht*).

HONORARY GENERAL SECRETARY—A. T. Lucas.

HONORARY TREASURERS—John Maher, B. J. Cantwell.

HONORARY SECRETARY PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE—H. E. Kilbride-Jones.

MEMBERS OF COUNCIL.

Dr. E. St. John Brooks; P. J. Hartnett; J. R. W. Goulden; P. F. Nyhan; Dr. W. O'Sullivan; Professor Myles Dillon; B. Mac Giolla Phadraig; R. E. Cross; Seán Ó Súilleabháin; Dr. J. G. Simms; H. F. Kearney; Dr. George Little.

FALCONER, PRINTER AND PUBLISHER DUBLIN

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1955

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FRANCISCAN ARCHITECTURE IN PRE-REFORMATION IRELAND

(Part I)

By Rev. Canice Mooney, O.F.M.

Scope of Study

THE churches and houses built in Ireland for the Franciscans from their first coming till their suppression under King Henry VIII are the subject-matter of this study.

The Irish Franciscans in virtue of papal licences granted in 1367 and 1373 founded a friary in the village of St. Columba's, Ballabeg, on the Isle of Man. Since this, though an Irish Franciscan foundation, is outside Ireland, it does not fall within our scope, but in passing it can be mentioned that the church has been converted into a barn and that a few pointed window arches of the original building still survive.

St. Francis founded three orders, the first for men only, often referred to as the Order of Friars Minors, or simply as the Franciscan Order; the second for women only, more commonly known as the Poor Clares; the third for both men and women living in the world and unable because of family or business ties to enter a monastery, friary, or convent. By the end of the fourteenth century groups of these men or women began to come together and live as little religious communities, much like the friars of the First Order and the nuns of the Second Order except that their way of life was based on the Third Order rule. These were called Tertiaries Regular or Regular Tertiaries or members of the Third Order Regular, to distinguish them from those individuals who, though following the rule of the Third Order, continued to follow their ordinary avocations in the world or at least as individuals not subject to community discipline, and who in contradistinction were known as Secular Tertiaries or members of the Third Order Secular.

The male branch of the Tertiaries Regular spread rapidly in Ireland during the fifteenth century, especially in Connaught and Ulster. Hence the necessity for distinguishing clearly between friaries of the First Order and those of the Third Order. They have been confused by many writers. The Tertiary or Third Order friaries are not noticed here. That is not to say that they do not merit study, since they include such foundations as Rosserk, Court, Bonamargy, Slane, Balleeghan, Killydonnell and

Corickmore, but rather that it would be more convenient and logical to treat of them in a separate study. They are usually smaller and less pretentious than the First Order foundations, but a few of them, notably Rosserk, bear such a striking resemblance to the First Order houses that we must postulate a common inspiration or else influence in one direction or the other.

Convents of Poor Clares and of female Regular Tertiaries need not detain us, since we have no established proofs of their existence in pre-reformation Ireland, nothing but a few uncorroborated references, and certainly no identifiable surviving remains.

We shall not concern ourselves with the fourteen or fifteen post-reformation foundations. Some of these, such as Killarney, are too near our own time to be of interest in the present connection. Several, owing to the operation of the penal laws against regulars, never consisted of more than a few clay and wattle huts or a few low, thatched cabins. Such in all probability were Derry, Strabane, Dungannon, and Castlelyons. Some, like Ballymote, Bonamargy, St. John the Baptist (Co. Longford), and Slane, passed, at least canonically, into the hands of the First Order in the early seventeenth century, but in origin they were Tertiary foundations and had best been left to be treated of with them. We shall not even pause to glance at the modern churches or friaries which have replaced the old ones in the neighbourhood of the original sites, such as Athlone, Cork, Dublin, and Limerick, outstanding though these may be in their own way. Nor shall we be expected to treat of the modest places of refuge that afforded shelter to the friars during the penal days, even the more commodious among them like Brantry in Co. Tyrone, which served as a refuge when they were driven from Armagh, or Faghbawn near Killarney, when they were expelled from Muckross.

Lisgool, Co. Fermanagh, stands in a class by itself. It was the only Franciscan house in the country to be founded in the period between the general suppression of the monasteries and the great Catholic revival that got under way in the early seventeenth century. It had formerly been in the possession of the Augustinians, but in the year 1580 Cuchonnacht Maguire, lord of Fermanagh, prevailed on the abbot to hand it over to the Franciscans.[1] Being post-reformation, it does not fall within the time limit set to this study, but lest any reader should feel regrets, let us hasten to add that its inclusion would add nothing to our architectural knowledge. Owing to the Ulster wars that followed, the building was never completed, and what had been built was later confiscated and altered and demolished to provide materials for a dwelling house on the same site. It is doubtful if any portion could be identified at the present day as part of the Franciscan friary.

[1]Trinity College, Dublin, MS F.1.16, pp. 465-6; and cf. C. P. Meehan, *The Rise and Fall of the Irish Franciscan Monasteries*, 5th ed. (Dublin, 1877), pp. 98-100. Meehan dates the event too early.

To forestall possible objections, may we add that no further mention will be found here of Athenry or Castlelyons, because, contrary to what has often been written, there is no evidence for a pre-reformation Franciscan friary at either of those places.

No attempt is made at providing exact measurements. The purposes of this study are sufficiently catered for by figures that are merely approximate. They are intended only to furnish a basis of comparison and help the reader to visualise the size and extent of the different parts of the building. For the sake of quick reference, whenever lists of friaries are given, they are placed in alphabetical order. It is to be understood that unless the contrary is made clear from the context, references like Cork, Dublin, Quin, are to the Franciscan friaries at those places, not to the town or the district.

Many of the ruins are such an architectural patchwork, as should be abundantly clear from all that follows, that it is not always possible to date the different parts and features or even to say what is late and what is early. The cautious reader will bear this in mind when examples are being referred to or particular features described. When detailed and specialised architectural studies of all our ecclesiastical ruins have been made, these difficulties will in great part be surmounted. Meantime, documentary evidence must remain the indispensable handmaiden of Irish archaeology.

Present State of Franciscan Ruins

Nothing remains standing of the old friaries of Aran, Carrickfergus, Cashel, Cork, Downpatrick, Drogheda, Dublin, Elphin, Enniscorthy, Galway, Limerick, Monaghan, New Ross, Stradbally, Trim, Youghal. The stones were taken to build courthouses, barracks, dwelling houses and the like, or the sites were cleared for other purposes. In most of these places not even a vestige of the old church or friary can be recognised any longer. At Aran and New Ross a few carved stones are still pointed out. At Cashel the Presentation Convent and the Catholic Church occupy the site, but a stone coffin and tombstone and a few carved and inscribed stones have survived. It is possible that a few fragments of the old walls form part of the new walls in the convent grounds. Some few fragments of Cork friary survive at the back of the houses on the North Mall. Already in the early years of the seventeenth century it was clear that every vestige of the Dublin house had been swept away. Gardens then occupied the site. The foundations of part of the Elphin friary were uncovered a few years ago when sewerage pipes were being laid. At Enniscorthy the site is occupied by the Abbey Square, the Bank of Ireland, the offices of the *Enniscorthy Echo,* Davis's stores, and possibly by part of Lett's brewery, but a few of the old mouldings can still be seen. A doorway now embodied in the brewery wall has a lintel masquerading as a depressed three-centred arch and a hood moulding

with curved, fluted, returned terminals. It was reconstructed in its present position from stones gathered on the friary site. Other stones from the friary are now built into the façade of the cathedral. At Stradbally some of the stone arched vaults stood until within living memory, and some of the stones of the building are still preserved in the Presentation Convent in the town.

In all the above cases, at least the site of the friary is known, but in regard to Goleen, Roscommon, and Strade we are not even sure of that much. Roscommon was founded in 1269 but was burned and abandoned the following year.[2] It may have been only a temporary structure, wholly or mainly of wood. Strade in Co. Mayo was first founded for Franciscans, but owing to a woman's entreaties, they were expelled and the place handed over to the Dominicans in 1252.[3] No trace of the Franciscan habitation, if it ever existed, remains. The Dominican priory in all probability occupied the same site, but we are not certain. Goleen in south-west Cork is the suggested and probable identification of a friary called Gahannyh in the diocese of Cork in favour of which Pope Eugene IV granted certain indulgences in 1442.[4] It is evident from the wording of the grant that a church and friary were already built before that year, but nobody has yet definitely identified the ruins, if any of them are still standing.

Pope John XXIII granted permission in 1414 for the founding of a house at St. Mullins,[5] and Pope Nicholas V in 1449 gave permission for a house in the territory of Donagh O'Mahony (the surname is not clear in the document) in the diocese of Cork,[6] but no evidence, documentary or architectural, has yet come to light that either was ever built, or even begun.

A great portion of the Armagh ruins fell about 1880. All that remains is a small portion of the church walls and a few scattered sculptured stones. Dr. H. G. Leask has ascribed certain remaining fragments, stylistically at least, to the thirteenth, the fourteenth, and the fifteenth centuries respectively. The few stones of architectural interest remaining at Bantry were collected on the instructions of the late parish priest, Canon Martin Murphy, and placed in a heap on the site of the demolished church. They included an ogival window-head with scooped out spandrels; the moulded base of a pier or large pillar; and a large moulded stone terminating at one end in a well-carved, rather classic-featured human face with closed eyes, very high forehead, and rather thin, long nose. This later stone has disappeared mysteriously within the last few years.

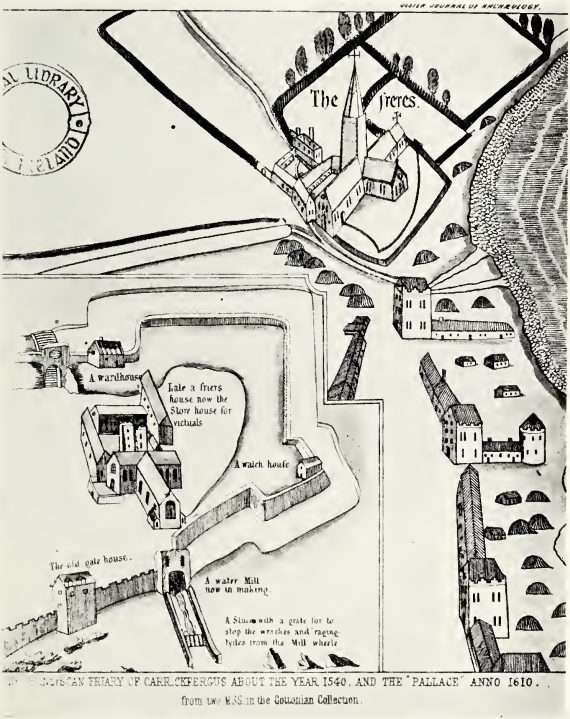
[2]*Annales de Monte Fernandi,* ed. A. Smith (Dublin, 1842) (published with separate title-page thus, in *Tracts relating to Ireland, printed for the Irish Archæological Society,* II (Dublin, 1843)), p. 15.

[3]E. B. Fitzmaurice and A. G. Little, *Materials for the History of the Franciscan Province of Ireland* (Manchester, 1920), pp. 18-19.

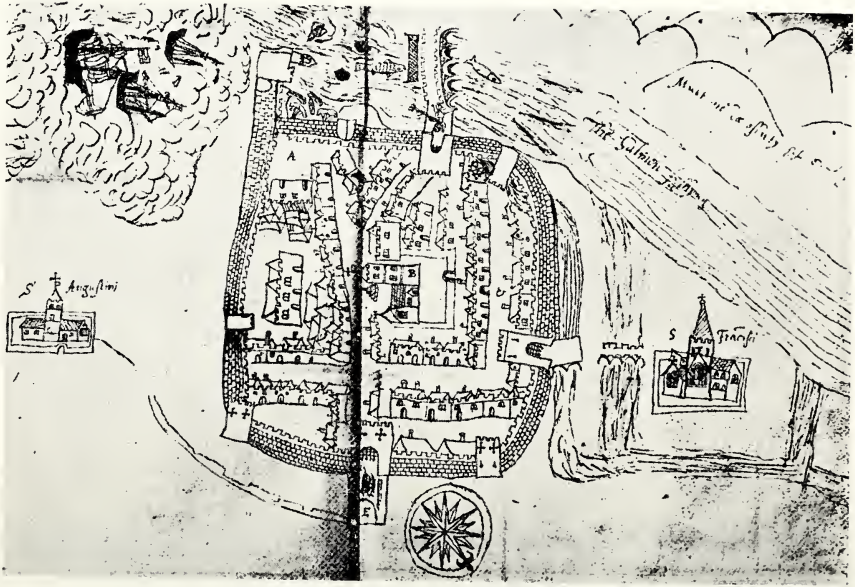
[4]*Bullarium Franciscanum,* n.s., I, no. 623.

[5]*Bullarium Franciscanum,* VII, no. 1336.

[6]*Cal. Papal Letters, 1447-55,* p. 202.



Carrickfergus, *c.* 1540 (top) and 1610 (inset). British Museum, Cotton MSS, from UJA



Galway, *c.* 1583 (at right). From T.C.D. MS 1209, No. 72

The quaint little belfry-tower and some of the north wall of the church of the old friary at Carrick-on-Suir are embodied in the north wall of the present parish church of Carrickbeg. Parts of the Clonmel choir are incorporated in the nave and aisle of the present Franciscan church, and the old tower still stands, but now at the west end of the church, instead of at the junction of choir and nave as formerly, because the old nave has been swept away and a street runs through the precincts. At Wexford some of the old walls of the pre-Cromwellian, and probably of the pre-reformation building, are embodied in the north, east, and south walls of the present Franciscan church.

A substantial portion of the church, but little or nothing besides, survives at Athlone, Buttevant, Kildare, Monasteroris, Nenagh, and Wicklow. The ground north of the church at Athlone, which was occupied by the domestic buildings, is still unbuilt-on, having been used at one stage as a burial ground for victims of the cholera. Very little digging and excavating would be necessary to uncover the foundations and reveal the plan. A few small fragments of walls at Buttevant and Wicklow suffice to give an idea of the location and extent of the cloister buildings. A plain square tower, known locally as Caisleán Chaoimhghin, now built into the present Catholic church, marks roughly the site of the north-west outer angle of the cloister quadrangle at Buttevant.

When the present writer first visited the ruins at Wicklow about six years ago, they were hidden under such a tangled mass of ivy that he failed to form any clear idea of the original building. On his second visit during the summer of 1954 he was pleased to find that thanks to the initiative of the present parish priest, Very Rev. Father Matthew Blake, in whose grounds they are, they have now been completely stripped of their ivy and the ground cleared. One can now form an excellent idea of the remains, and surprisingly enough, they appear almost unchanged from what they looked like in the latter half of the eighteenth century as represented in contemporary sketches.

Unfortunately, Kildare and Monasteroris when visited in July 1954 were in the same sad state as Wicklow about six years before. All architectural features are completely obscured by a thick shroud of foliage. Not even the outline of the ruins can be made out at Monasteroris. A glance at the drawing of Kildare made by Austin Cooper in 1784 or that made by Lieut. Daniel Grose in 1792[7] tells us more than an examination of the Kildare ruins in their present state. Monasteroris served as the Protestant church for Edenderry until the year 1777. Until that date it was probably kept in good repair, but would have been subject to occasional alterations to suit ever-changing needs. Some sculptured stones embedded for safe keeping in the walls of the present Carmelite friary at Kildare are believed to have formed part of the old Franciscan friary there. At Nenagh the very tall lights of the east gable

[7]See below.

and the fine, dignified range of tall, narrow, widely-splayed windows in the north wall of the choir can still be seen.

The tower, and that altered, but little or nothing besides, survives at Cavan and Dundalk. The tower and a fair portion of the church remain at Kilkenny, Multyfarnham, and Roscrea. At Kilkenny one can see the tower, the nave, and a few fragments of the domestic buildings, while a small section of the vaulted chambers of the friary are still pointed out in the brewery that now occupies part of the site. At Multyfarnham the old southern transept forms the nave of the present Franciscan church, and the archway under the tower that provided communication between nave and choir is now a chapel-shrine in honour of St. Anthony. There is a passage from the little sanctuary of this chapel into the yard to the north. This passage was there in the fifteenth century but then led into the cloister court. A quarter of a century ago the present writer remembers as a boy seeing parts of the north, south, and east walls of the pre-reformation choir still standing. They have since been pulled down. At Roscrea the main entrance to the present Catholic church at the back a little distance away, is under the old tower of the friary.

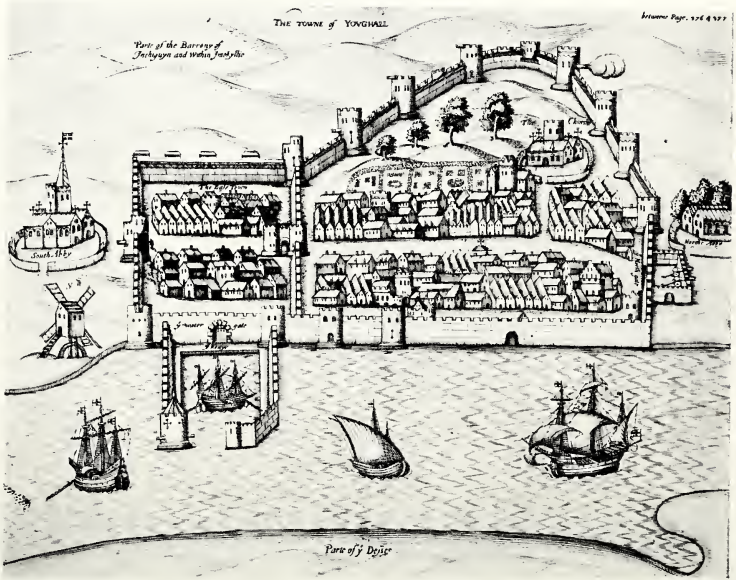
The tower and a substantial portion of the church remain standing at Castledermot, Clane, Galbally, and Waterford. The tower that remains at Castledermot, however, is not the belfry-tower that formerly stood between nave and choir but an unusual defence tower to the south of the nave, sometimes referred to locally as the Abbey Castle. The tower at Clane seems to have undergone considerable alteration. The skeleton of the church that remains is an exceedingly plain, uninteresting structure, with a very wide gap where the east window was, and four large windows in the south wall of the choir. There is a recessed tomb in the south wall of the choir with a fragmentary effigy of the founder. Waterford in the course of centuries has undergone various internal changes to suit the different needs of a hospital for the sick poor and a church for refugee French Protestants.

We know that a mysterious fire and explosion occurred in the friary of Donegal in September 1601 while it was being defended by Niall Garbh O'Donnell with his English allies against Red Hugh O'Donnell and his Irish forces.[8] This probably accounts, despite subsequent attempts at repairing the damage, for the peculiarly scattered and fragmentary character of the remains. They consist mainly of the choir, the north wall of the nave, the south gable of the transept, portion of the north range, and the east wall and arcade of the cloister.

Substantial portions of both church and cloister ranges remain intact at Ardfert, Ennis, Kilnalahan, Lislaughtin, and Meelick, and in the first two cases the tower also survives, but the most rewarding of all are Adare, Askeaton, Claregalway, Dromahaire, Kilconnell, Kilcrea, Moyne, Muck-

[8]C. Mooney, 'The Friars and Friary of Donegal', in T. O'Donnell, *Franciscan Donegal* (Rossnowlagh, [1952]), pp. 14-15.

Limerick, *c.* 1590 (marked K). From T.C.D. MS 1209, No. 57



Youghal, *c.* 1600 (marked South Abby). From *Pacata Hibernia*

ross, Quin, Ross, Sherkin, Timoleague. Of these, Adare, Moyne, Muckross, Quin, Ross, are the most complete, lacking little but the roof to render them habitable once again.

Killeigh possesses an interest all its own. Although there are a few instances like Meelick and Multyfarnham in which a pre-reformation church, or an extensive section of it, has continued to be used down to the present day, Killeigh is the only example in which practically the whole building, substantially unchanged, still continues in use. The church is now a Protestant place of worship; the east range contains the kitchen, pantry, and other rooms; the north and west ranges, reduced in height, are now outoffices. A modern dwelling-house wing has been added at the north-east. Killeigh enables us to visualise the inside of an old friary in the days of its occupation by the friars, the dimensions of the rooms, the amount of light that penetrated, the narrowness of the staircases, the sense of confinement in some portions contrasted with the ample spaciousness of others. Here, as of old, are some of the dark crypts and cellars, the vaulted roofs, the aumbries or wall-presses. Still to be seen in a section jutting out eastwards from the east range are two of the ancient windows, but now blocked up. One is single-lighted, the other is double-lighted, with transoms. Both have ogee cusped heads, chamfered jambs, and square hood mouldings.

A small part, about eight feet high, of the east gable of the church at Kilcullen is still standing and forms portion of the west wall of the graveyard. The slab and side panels of the tomb of the founder, Sir Roland Eustace, also survive, although no longer in their original position. The slab now lies in the middle of the graveyard. Nearby are the ruins of a large three-storeyed building of stone and brick, built in post-reformation times with the materials of the church and friary. It is difficult to discern any architectural features that could be ascribed with certainty to the pre-reformation period, although presumably parts of the earlier building would have been incorporated in the new. Considerable remains of the friary church survived until about 1782, when they were pulled down to provide stones for the Catholic church which was erected on the site about 1786. That church in turn was demolished in 1873, but some parts of the walls still stand.

For three reasons the church is often the best-preserved section of these old friaries. It was the part of the construction on which the greatest care and expense was lavished. It frequently continued in use after the suppression as a Protestant place of worship. It was the burial place of the most distinguished families of the neighbourhood, who in consequence used their influence to have it preserved intact.

Sources of Information

The earliest surviving picture known of an Irish Franciscan friary is that of Carrickfergus, assigned to about the year 1540, which is now

preserved among the Cotton manuscripts in the British Museum. It is informative and valuable, being the only picture in existence of an Irish Franciscan friary at a period when it was still occupied by the friars before the edict of suppression of the monasteries issued by King Henry VIII had been put into effect. We shall have occasion on more than one occasion in the course of this study to refer to features of the friary as represented in this picture. There is just one point that makes us a little dubious about its accuracy in all its details. The steeple shown is different from the usual Franciscan tower and also from the more typical one shown in another sketch of the friary made in 1610, which also is now to be found in the Cotton collection. Admittedly by this later date the frairy had been converted into a store-house for victuals, but it is unlikely that it had undergone any revolutionary transformation in the intervening seventy years.[9]

Another old map in the British Museum, assigned tentatively to about 1563, shows buildings at Killeigh and Stradbally which probably represent the friaries there.[10] Killeigh has a tapering tower at one end and smaller twin towers or turrets at the other. Stradbally is a long building with a Franciscan-type tower rising out of the middle. Neither of these two sketches is as reliable or as detailed as that of Carrickfergus.

A map of Galway about 1583 by Barnaby Gooche[11] and another of Limerick from about the year 1590[12] reveal considerable detail about the friaries at these two places, since, long disappeared. They show the church, tower, domestic buildings, and enclosure wall, and in the case of Limerick the garden and outhouses as well, and in both cases give a clear idea of the location and surroundings of the friary. A map of Cork, believed to date from about the year 1585 and now preserved like the Limerick one in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, has a good drawing of the friary, but represented as even then in a state of partial ruin.[13] Tower, transept, and north range appear, but the choir is roofless. The church is orientated in the traditional manner. The east window has six lancet lights with three small circular opes overhead, arranged one over two. The tower has an embattled parapet. The rounded arch in the east wall of the tower leading into the choir can also be seen. In May 1836 the remaining portions of these ruins were pulled down.

Since nothing has survived at Monaghan and only the tower at Cavan, we are fortunate in having good sketches of these two friaries as they were about the years 1590[14] and 1593[15] respectively. The cloister

[9]Both reproduced in colour in *UJA*, VII (1859), facing p. 1; and cf. id., V (1898-9), facing p. 1; XV (1909), 56.

[10]Reproduced in *JRSAI*, VII (i.e. 2nd s., IV) (1862-3), facing p. 345.

[11]Reproduced in M. D. O'Sullivan, *Old Galway* (Cambridge, 1942), facing p. 116.

[12]Reproduced in J. Begley, *The Diocese of Limerick: Ancient and Medieval* (Dublin, 1906), facing p. 319.

[13]Reproduced in *Jn. Cork Hist. Soc.*, XIII (1907), facing p. 66; and cf. reproduction of enlarged detail, id., XXIII (1917), p. 123.

[14]Reproduced in D. C. Rushe, *Historical Sketches of Monaghan* (Dublin, 1895), p. 13.

[15]Reproduced in P. O'Connell, *The Diocese of Kilmore* (Dublin, 1937), p. 301.

wings are not shown at Monaghan, but the long, aisleless church and the slender tower on square base with embattled parapet are rather typical. The tower looks lower than usual and does not spring from cross-walls dividing the church into nave and choir but stands outside the church adjoining what seems to be the north wall, somewhat less than halfways down from the west end. The parapet is overhanging, and the tower has a pyramidal roof surmounted by a cross. The west gable with its door and window are shown, and three windows in the north wall of the church, two of them giving light to the choir, the third, to the nave. The roof of the church gives the impression of stone tiling. If our surmise is correct that the view is from the north, then the cloister was south of the church, which is contrary to the usual Irish Franciscan practice, although it was the usual Cistercian plan. Cavan is similar to Monaghan, but the roof of the tower is flat, with parapet and battlements. There is another smaller building standing apart from the church but very near it and in the friary grounds.

A contemporary coloured drawing of the battle of the Yellow Ford, in which Hugh O'Neill defeated Marshal Bagenal, 10 August 1598, shows the friary of Armagh a short distance south of the town.[16] It is a fairly long, red-roofed building having a large door with semi-circular arch in the western gable and over the door a triangular window. A small transept chapel, or less likely, a porch, is represented on the south side of the church. There is no sign of a tower or any domestic buildings, although these latter being on the north side would be at least partially obscured by the church.

A similar contemporary coloured drawing of the defeat of Sir Henry Harrington near Wicklow town in 1599 by the Irish of Co. Wicklow shows a building called *Monisharlee,* some distance north of the castle.[17] This probably stands for *Mainistir Liath,* Grey Abbey or Grey Friary or the Monastery of the Grey Friars, that is, the Franciscan Friary of Wicklow. It is not, unfortunately, very illuminating. It looks rather like a large dwelling-house—a fairly long, high range running from north-west to south-east, with a wing projecting centrally towards the north-east, a chimney at each gable, and a tall, narrow door in the south-east gable. Already at this date the friary was a long time suppressed and had been leased by Queen Elizabeth to different parties in turn.

Pacata Hibernia furnishes us with clear and detailed drawings of Askeaton, Cork, Limerick, and Youghal as they would have appeared about the year 1600.[18] Their value will be appreciated when we recall that Askeaton is the only one of those four important foundations of which anything of architectural interest remains, and that for Askeaton itself this drawing provides strong evidence for the former existence of

[16]Reproduced in Gilbert, *Facsimiles of National Monuments of Ireland,* IV, 1, plate 24.

[17]Reproduced, id., plate 26.

[18]Ed. S. O'Grady (London, 1896), I, facing p. 27 (Youghal); facing p. 63 (Askeaton); facing p. 187 (Limerick); II, facing p. 137 (Cork).

important features that have since disappeared without trace. In the case of Cork, and also possibly of Youghal, the artist seems to have taken the liberty of changing the direction of the church, perhaps in order to provide a clearer view.

The maps of the escheated counties in Ireland, made in 1609, as a result of the flight of the northern earls, have a rough sketch without any clear details of the friary of Donegal.[19] A small turret or large chimney appears, but no tower. They also show the friary at Armagh, roofless and towerless, but this sketch, like those on several other sixteenth and seventeenth century maps, to which in consequence we shall not bother to refer, is evidently a symbol rather than a representation. A map of the escheated counties drawn up in 1610 and attributed to John Norden, and now in the Cotton collection in the British Museum, shows Donegal as roofed and with a tower.[20] This may represent the repairs undertaken by Rory O'Donnell after he became first earl of Tyrconnell.[21] John Speed's map of the city of Cork shows the friary as it would have looked about the year 1610—a high building with a transept but no tower.[22] His map of Limerick reveals that by that time the friary had disappeared and on the site were gardens and part of the town walls.[23]

A valuable set of early seventeenth century picture-maps has recently been acquired by the National Museum, Dublin. One of them has a drawing of the inauguration stone of the O'Neills at Tullaghoge still intact and in position, so it must represent the state of things before August 1602 when Mountjoy smashed the stone out of contempt for Hugh O'Neill. The picture-map of Armagh on folio 3 shows the ruins of the friary within a circular rampart. Only the four walls of the church remain, along with a small pile of stones a little to the south but within the rampart, which may represent the collapsed remnants of some building. The east gable of the church shows three windows with two small opes overhead, while two windows with a small ope above them are discernible in the west gable. In the south wall of the choir one window is shown and to the west of it a door, or conceivably what was originally an archway leading into a southern transept.

A map of Galway in Trinity College, Dublin, which is dated 1625, gives an excellent idea of the state of the friary after the repairs and alterations of the counter-reformation period.[24] Worth noting are the detached outbuildings, the southern transept chapel, to the west of which, and parallel with it, is another smaller chapel or porch, and lastly the graceful tower rising from the junction of nave and choir and surmounted by a steeple. A small but detailed representation of the friary also

[19]*Maps of the escheated Counties in Ireland, 1609, copied at the Ordnance Survey Office, Southampton . . . 1861.*

[20]Reproduced in *Anal. Hib.*, VIII, facing p. 298.

[21]D. Monaeus, 'Tractatus', in *Anal. Hib.*, VI, 41.

[22]*Theatrum Imperii Magnae Britanniae* translated into Latin by Philemon Holland (Amsterdam, 1616).

[23]*Id.*

[24]Reproduced in M. D. O'Sullivan, *Old Galway*, facing p. 214.

Enniscorthy, *c.* 1778 (towards left). From Sandby's *Virtuosi's Museum*

Kilcullen in 1782. From Cooper's sketch, in Price, *An Eighteenth Century Antiquary*

appears on the well-known 1651 map of Galway.[25] It shows the cloister arrangement of the buildings, a transept chapel, and what seems to be the seventeenth century sacristy at the end of the choir. There are also sketches of varying degrees of value of Dundalk in 1655, 1675, and 1680,[26] of Waterford in 1657 and 1673,[27] of Ennis and Quin in 1680.[28] In the case of some friaries it is possible from sketches alone to trace their slow process of decay or their gradual adaptation to various secular uses.

To give us an idea of the state of the ruins during the eighteenth century, there are views of various cities and towns, such as Van der Hagen's painting of the city of Waterford,[29] and the outline plans of a few of the friaries, for instance, those of Jean Rocque for Armagh[30] and Kilkenny,[31] of Scale and Richards for Waterford, [32] and of Austin Cooper for Kilcullen.[33] Armagh is represented in 1760 as a long, narrow church with gapped walls, but without tower or domestic buildings. The Kilkenny plan, which was drawn in 1758, shows very little detail except that the church was orientated, but gives a good idea of the site and surroundings. The map of Waterford dating from 1764 shows a long narrow building with a door at the west end and divided internally into three sections by short projecting walls. Cooper made both a plan and a sketch of Kilcullen in August 1782, just a few years before it was pulled down.[34] The choir, nave, and south transept can be distinguished. The pointed east window appears to have had two mullions. The three two-light windows in the south wall of the choir; the four-lighted pointed window of the south gable of the transept; and the top of the pointed window of the west gable are also shown. The gap in the walls towards the west end of the choir indicates the site of the tower, which had collapsed about eighteen years before.

Cooper was born in 1759 at Killinure, Co. Tipperary, and travelled around various parts of Ireland in an official capacity between the years 1774 and 1803. He was very interested in antiquities, and at his death in 1830 he left a large collection of sketches, diaries, and notebooks, selections only from which have since been published. His sketches of

[25]Reproduced in J. Hardiman, *The History of the Town and County of the Town of Galway* (Dublin, 1820), facing p. 30.

[26]Reproduced in J. D'Alton and J. R. O'Flanagan, *The History of Dundalk* (Dublin, 1864), between pp. 262-3, 264-5.

[27]Reproduced in E. Downey, *The Story of Waterford* (Waterford, 1914), facing pp. 141, 164.

[28]T. Dineley, *Observations on a Voyage through the Kingdom of Ireland* (Dublin, 1870), pp. 150 (Quin), 154 (Ennis).

[29]Original in Council Chamber, Waterford; reproduced in E. Downey, *The Story of Waterford*, facing p. 313.

[30]J. Rocque, *Carte topographique de la Province d'Armagh ou se trouve les plans des villes d'Armagh et Newry par I. Rocque, 1760*, sheet 1.

[31]Reproduced in W. Carrigan, *The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*, III (Dublin, 1905), facing p. 4.

[32]See map in *JRSAI*, LXXIII, (1943), facing p. 136.

[33]L. Price, *An Eighteenth Century Antiquary: the sketches, notes and diaries of Austin Cooper (1759-1830)* (Dublin, 1942), p. 93.

[34]For reproduction of sketch see op. cit., plate 6; or *Jn. Kildare Archæol. Soc.*, III (1899-1901), p. 307.

Cashel, Kilcullen, Kildare, Kilkenny, and Roscrea have already been printed, as well as a drawing of an old sepulchral effigy in Carrick-on-Suir.[35] The ruins he saw at Cashel and Kilcullen have since disappeared, but, thanks to him, the memory of what they looked like in 1781-4 is now preserved for posterity. Cashel was actually being pulled down while he was examining it in June 1781, and a portion of the west side of Roscrea that still stood when he visited it in 1792 was knocked down within the next twenty years. Kildare was then free of ivy. It is shown as a many-buttressed building having a three-light equilateral pointed east window with intersecting tracery and a subsidiary head beneath the tracery, more or less like a transom, for strengthening the mullions and tracery. Part of another section of the building protrudes near the west angle. This would be part of the domestic buildings. Among the Frazer sketch-books is a sketch of Dromahaire after a drawing made by Cooper in 1791. Cooper's manuscripts are still in private possession.

The Frazer sketch-books form a manuscript collection of thirty-six volumes preserved in the National Library. They are copies of Irish antiquities after the drawings of various earlier artists made by William Frazer, 1824-1905, a Dublin medical doctor who was interested in history and antiquarian remains. They include views or details of Askeaton, Buttevant, Dromahaire, Kilconnell, Kilcrea, Multyfarnham, Roscrea, Sherkin, Timoleague, etc.[36] The originals of many of them are to be found in the Royal Irish Academy, for instance, the Petrie drawings.

George Victor Du Noyer (d. 1869), the Irish son of a French father, has left twelve volumes of his paintings, drawings, and plans in manuscript to the library of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland and eleven volumes, containing copies of these, but on a larger scale, to the library of the Royal Irish Academy. Among them will be found views or details of Buttevant, Carrick-on-Suir, Galbally, Muckross, and Multyfarnham.[37]

Gabriel Beranger, 1729-1817, a Dutchman who settled in Dublin in 1750 and afterwards travelled Ireland to paint Irish scenes and antiquities, has left pretty watercolours of Adare, Askeaton, Carrick-on-Suir, Muckross, and Timoleague.[38] The friaries of Adare and Timoleague appear in the middle distance merely as small parts of a large prospect. For Ask-

[35]For Kildare see *Jn. Kildare Archæol. Soc.*, II (1896-9), 300; for Kilcullen see preceding note; for the others see L. Price, *op. cit.*, plates 11 (Kilkenny), 16 (Cashel), 21 (Roscrea), 31 (tomb in Carrick-on-Suir). Plate 45 (and cf. his description of the ruins, p. 94) is not, as he claims, a sketch of the Franciscan friary at Drogheda but of St Mary's.

[36]See R. M. Elmes, *Catalogue of Irish Topographical Prints and Original Drawings* (Dublin, 1943), no. 1572, pp. 191-203.

[37]Du Noyer Sketches, in RSAI Library, Dublin, I, 15 and VI, 2 and 5 (Muckross); I, 56 (Buttevant); II, 1 and 2 (Carrick-on-Suir); ii, 47 (Galbally); IX, 75 (sepulchral slab at Multyfarnham); or see Royal Irish Academy Collection, MS R.R. Recess Case 2.

[38]A collection of drawings of the principal antique buildings of Ireland designed on the spot and collected by Gabriel Beranger, in Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, MS 3 C 30, ff. 22 (Askeaton), 25 (Adare), 28 (Muckross), 58 (Carrick-on-Suir), 68 (Timoleague).

eaton he chose a good view-point and a revealing angle. The view of Carrick-on-Suir gives a good idea of the quaint tower and its position. Another volume of his works contains two views of Castledermot, one after Charles Vallancey and another after Jonathan Fisher.

J. Turner, a Protestant clergyman, has left a bundle of watercolours which includes the friaries of Carrick-on-Suir, Muckross, and Timoleague.[39] His painting of Carrick-on-Suir dating from May 1799 shows the steeple, the north wall with windows, buttresses, and, towards the west end, some pointed arches, though then blocked up. The north wall of the choir has a pair of narrow pointed windows with three similar ones, after an interval, towards the western end, rising towards the centre. The eastern gable shows only a tiny square window towards the upper southern corner. He painted his view of Muckross in February 1798 and of Timoleague in May 1799, and another of the environs of Timoleague in October 1799, which shows the friary in the middle distance.

Muckross, famed for the beauty of its environs and its quiet, brooding grandeur, has beguiled the artist more than any other Irish Franciscan ruin. There is a coloured view among the Royal manuscripts in the British Museum which probably dates from the latter part of the eighteenth century.[40] There are aquatints by Jonathan Fisher, which were published in 1789 and 1796.[41] There is a drawing by Isaac Weld, which appeared in 1807.[42] There are others too numerous to mention. Adare, Askeaton, Buttevant, Castledermot, and Quin have also frequently attracted the attention of the travelling painter and sketcher. On the other hand, there are ruins, which, perhaps, because of the plainness of their lines, like Clane, or the meagreness of their remains, like Armagh, or because of the added reason that they are off the beaten path, like Monasteroris, have rarely attained portrayal.

Charles Smith's history of Waterford, of which the first edition appeared in 1746, contains a tinted sketch of the substantial ruins that still stood at Carrick-on-Suir, including that curious tower, which has since been embodied in a modern church.[43] His history of Cork, of which the first edition appeared in 1750, has a plate giving an inside view of the friary church at Buttevant—nave, tower, tower-arch, and arch leading to the transept chapel.[44] The tower-arch looks tall, narrow, and semi-circular. The site of the two stone altars at each side of the tower wall which forms the east end of the nave are clearly indicated, and at least

[39]Loose bundle, in Royal Irish Academy, MS 3 C 33.

[40]Royal MS LIII. 43. f.

[41]J. Fisher, *A Picturesque Tour of Killarney* (London 1789), plates 2, 3; id., *A Description of the Lake of Killarney* (Dublin, 1796), plate 4. This latter was published with separate title-page thus as appendix to Fisher's *Scenery of Ireland illustrated in a Series of Prints of select Views, I* (London, 1795).

[42]I. Weld, *Illustrations of the Scenery of Killarney* (London, 1812), two plates facing p. 24.

[43]C. Smith, *The Ancient and Present State of the County and City of Waterford*, 2nd ed. (Dublin, 1774), plate 4, facing p. 92.

[44]C. Smith, *The Ancient and Present State of the County and City of Cork*, 2nd ed., I (London, 1774), facing p. 312.

the altar on the gospel side seems to be still in place. The letterpress says there are remains of an altar in the transept chapel. A small portion of the top of the tower is gone, but it looks as if it had the usual embattled parapet. At the four corners of the tower, at the middle of the walls, at the corners of the arches and windows, are ornamental pillarets intersected at intervals by semicircular bands, giving an ornate, almost florid effect, out of keeping with what one expects to find in a Franciscan friary. Smith describes the place as 'a sumptuous ruin'. His history of Kerry, of which the first edition appeared in 1756, has a large prospect of the lakes of Killarney which shows Muckross, but so distant and consequently drawn to so small a scale as to be unhelpful except for one interested in studying the position of the friary in relation to lake, mountains, towns, neighbouring castles and abbeys.[45]

Paul Sandby, surveyor, painter, and engraver, published in 1778 paintings he had made from sketches (nearly all of them made on the spot by a Mr Dawson) of Adare, Askeaton, Carrick-on-Suir, and Enniscorthy, as well as views of the city of Waterford and the lakes of Killarney which included tiny distant views of the friary towers at those places.[46] The Adare view shows two friaries, but the Franciscan one is the nearer one. Along with a fine view of the friary at Askeaton, which is similar to that of Beranger, there is another view of the castle, etc., which shows a corner of the friary in the left foreground. There is both a near and a distant view of Carrick-on-Suir, each showing the tower from a different angle. The lancet windows in the north wall of the choir, the remaining walls to the south of the church, and the absence of fairly level ground immediately to the north, suggest that contrary to the usual practice the cloister was situated to the south of the church. The most important of the paintings is that of Enniscorthy, preserving for us, as it does, information, that would otherwise have been lost, about the friary of that town. It lay to the south of the town, beside the River Slaney, and on its west bank, with its garden running right down to the water's edge. The church was orientated, and the domestic buildings lay to the north in the usual manner. The tower, following the regular Irish Franciscan pattern, was slender, tall, more or less square on plan, parapeted, and placed at the intersection of nave and choir. In this view, however, it appears with a plain parapet without battlements and capped by a pyramidal roof surmounted by a weather-vane.

Jonathan Fisher, draper turned landscape-painter, made sketches and engraved them in aquatint resembling studio photographs in sepia of the friaries of Castledermot, Lislaughtin, Muckross, and Wicklow. He pub-

[45]C. Smith, *The Ancient and Present State of the County of Kerry*, 2nd ed. (London, 1774), facing p. 92.

[46]*The Virtuosi's Museum; containing select Views, in England, Scotland, and Ireland; drawn by P. Sandby* (London, 1778-), plates 12 (Enniscorthy), 21 (Carrick-on-Suir, distant view), 30 (Adare), 35 (Askeaton), 38 (Carrick-on-Suir, near view), 42 (Askeaton, part of friary in left foreground), 48 (Waterford), 69 (Killarney).

Cashel, *c.* 1792. From Grose

Lislaughtin, *c.* 1792. From Grose

lished them in a large oblong folio volume in 1795 or 1796 with a page of letterpress accompanying each.[47] The value of the Lislaughtin picture is that it shows the tower, since collapsed, revealing it as typically Franciscan—tall, slender, parapeted, and battlemented.

Among other eighteenth century views that have appeared in print are Buttevant in 1788[48] and Moyne in 1794.[49] A sketch of Adare by John Harden in a manuscript notebook he compiled of a tour in the year 1797 has been published recently.[50] It represents the friary as then an ivy-clad ruin, but gives a clear idea of tower, east window, and other features.

The most comprehensive published collection of eighteenth century views is to be found in Grose's great work on Irish antiquities. The first volume contains views of Claregalway, Dromahaire, Dundalk, Kilconnell, Kilkenny, Lislaughtin, and Multyfarnham, while the second has Adare, Cashel, Castledermot (two views), Ennis, Kildare, Muckross, Quin, Timoleague, and Wicklow. The view of Reginald's Tower, Waterford, in the first volume shows in the background the tower of the old Franciscan church with a battlemented, slightly overhanging parapet, and a pyramidal cap. Grose's work also contains plans, although not fully accurate ones, of Dromahaire, Kilconnell, and Multyfarnham. The views in these two volumes were drawn by various artists and are frequently reprinted, often without indication of source, in books, periodicals, and newspapers. It would be more tedious than profitable to attempt to list them all here.[51]

From the beginning of the nineteenth century onwards there is no shortage of views of all sorts—drawings, paintings, aquatints, line engravings, etchings, vignettes, woodcuts, lithographs. As the century progressed, the new art of photography was being pressed into service, culminating in our own day in the thrill of colour photography and the sharing of its joys with the many by means of coloured film strips and multi-coloured photogravure. The venerable grey walls of the Franciscan friaries are backgrounded by some of the most enchanting scenery in Ireland—lush, green meadows, virgin-blue lakes, moody seas, brown rivers, and pellucid streams. The colour-scheme of the distant masses of hill and mountain

[47]J. Fisher, *Scenery of Ireland illustrated in a Series of Prints of select Views,* I (London, 1795), plates 8 (Castledermot), 22 (Lislaughtin), 26 (Wicklow); and a distant view of Muckross in his *A Description of the Lake of Killarney illustrated with twelve Prints* (Dublin, 1796), plate 4, a work bound in as appendix with former, but with separate titlepage.

[48]*The Compleat Irish Traveller,* II (London, 1788), facing p. 40.

[49]*Anthologia Hibernica,* III (1794, 1), facing p. 1.

[50]*Jn. Cork Hist. Soc.,* LIX (1954), facing p. 39.

[51]F. Grose, *The Antiquities of Ireland,* ed. E. Ledwich, I, II (London, 1791, 1793): I, facing pages 24 (Dromahaire), 28 (Dundalk), 36 (Kilkenny), 63 (Claregalway, 65 (Kilconnell), 74 (Lislaughtin), 86 (Multyfarnham); II, facing pages 30 (Timoleague), 42 (Ennis), 44 (Wicklow), 47 (Cashel), 57 (Muckross), 69 (Quin), 82 and 83 (Castledermot), 83 (Kildare), 86 (Adare). The view of Reginald's Tower occurs facing an unpaginated page after the introduction to vol. I and before the commencement of the paginated pages. In vol. II, facing p. xv is a plate which includes details of windows at Dromahaire. The plans occur in vol. I, facing pages 24 (Dromahaire), 65 (Kilconnell), 86 (Multyfarnham).

changes from day to day, almost from hour to hour, passing through nearly all the hues of the rainbow. Another modern achievement and aid to study that our ancestors never more than dreamed of is the conquest of the air, so that we can now procure aerial photos that stimulate the mind and give us fresh angles on Irish Franciscan architecture.

The statistical surveys of Irish counties published by the Dublin Society at the beginning of the last century are disappointing for our purpose, but the volume on Co. Kildare has a view of Castledermot which shows the tracery of the north window of the transept, which has since collapsed. This view also represents the three chapels of the north transept as lean-to structures. The same volume also contains a map of the county based on a survey by Major Taylor, which has a tiny picture of the friary at Kildare that seems to show a tower at or near the west end.[52]

Cromwell's *Excursions through Ireland* has good engravings of Castledermot, Kilkenny, and Multyfarnham.[53] The value of the Multyfarnham view is that it shows it from a different angle from all the other old drawings and reveals details that have since disappeared, for instance, the east doorway, part of the north range, and some windows of the south wall of the choir. The Kilkenny view is also very informative. The viewpoint is from the north-east from across the river and reveals the east window, the north windows of the choir, and the tower with battlemented parapets. The Castledermot view shows the fine window of the north transept (which, however, the author calls the east window) as it appeared before it lost its mullions and tracery.

Brewer's *Beauties of Ireland* has a drawing of Multyfarnham done like the one in Cromwell's volume by George Petrie, but as seen from the south.[54]

Robert O'Callaghan Newenham's *Picturesque Views* has attractive lithographed views of Adare, Askeaton, Buttevant, Carrick-on-Suir, Castledermot, Kilcrea (two views), Multyfarnham, Quin, and Timoleague.[55] The caption 'Franciscan Abbey, Donegall' under one view is misleading. It really represents the ruined abbey of Fahan on the shores of Lough Swilly. Buttevant and Carrick-on-Suir have undergone substantial changes since these sketches were made. The tower at Buttevant no longer stands, while the remains at Carrick-on-Suir are no longer a separate entity.

In his well-known work on researches in the south of Ireland, which

[52]T. J. Rawson, *Statistical Survey of the County of Kildare* (Dublin, 1807), frontispiece (map of the county), facing p. xxii (Castledermot).

[53]T. K. Cromwell, *Excursions through Ireland* (London, 1820), II, facing p. 187 (Multyfarnham); III, facing pages 10 (Castledermot), 65 (Kilkenny).

[54]J. N. Brewer, *The Beauties of Ireland*, II (London, 1826), among plates at end of volume.

[55]R. O'C. Newenham, *Picturesque Views of the Antiquities of Ireland*, two volumes in one, ([London], 1830), passim. After the introduction the plates all follow in alphabetical order of counties and within each county the alphabetical order of abbeys, friaries, etc. They bear no serial or pagination number.

appeared in 1824, Thomas Crofton Croker, historian and folklorist, published a drawing by Marianne Nicholson of the friary at Buttevant after the tower had fallen,[56] and he himself made a pencil-sketch of the few remaining ruins of Cork friary in May 1831, showing some rounded arches.[57] Five years later these were pulled down.

George Newnham Wright in 1832 published a view of the city of Waterford from the river showing the Reginald Tower and near it the tower of the Franciscan friary with embattled parapets and a square-based pyramidal roof surmounted by a cross.[58] Bartlett in a work that is undated but known to have been published in 1842 gives pretty views of Claregalway and Moyne.[59] The one he gives of Rosserk does not concern us here, since Rosserk belonged to the Third Order. Windele's historical and descriptive notes on Cork and its vicinity, of which the second edition appeared in 1844, has drawings of Kilcrea, which, however, are of no great interest.[60] In 1845 George Wilkinson, an architect whose work brought him all over Ireland, published a volume on practical geology and ancient Irish architecture which contained a fine plate of Kilconnell, a plan of Moyne, and woodcuts of the cloisters at Moyne, an old fireplace at Moyne, and the cloisters at Timoleague.[61] In 1851 James George Robertson published a series of illustrations, each accompanied by a page of letterpress, of ancient buildings and scenery of Kilkenny, city and county. It included a fine view of the friary at Kilkenny from across the river, which showed the tower, the choir, and some high buildings to the south, in which two rows of five windows each can be discerned.[62] These may represent the east range of the claustral buildings, though probably somewhat altered from its pre-reformation state. If so, Kilkenny like Carrick-on-Suir, and like a few other friaries to which we have referred or shall refer later was an exception to the general rule that Irish Franciscan houses had the church to the south of the cloister. This is confirmed by a description of the ruins about the middle of the last century by the Reverend James Graves, in which he states that there was a small fragment of the conventual buildings to the south.[63] A second square tower, which has a pyramidal

[56]T. C. Croker, *Researches in the South of Ireland* (London, 1824), facing p. 113.

[57]Reproduced in *Jn. Cork Hist. Soc.*, XXIII (1917), 121; and in J. O'Callaghan, *Franciscan Cork* ([Killiney, 1953]), p. 11.

[58]G. N. Wright, *Ireland Illustrated, in a Series of Views* (London, 1832), facing p. 62.

[59]N. P. Willis and J. S. Ross, *The Scenery and Antiquities of Ireland, illustrated from drawings by W. H. Bartlett* (London, 1842), I, facing pages 67 (Moyne), 100 (Claregalway); II (letterpress of this vol. by J. S. Ross alone), facing p. 184 (Adare).

[60]J. Windele, *Historical and Descriptive Notes of the City of Cork and its Vicinity*, new ed. (Cork, 1844), pp. 260-1.

[61]G. Wilkinson, *Practical Geology and Ancient Architecture of Ireland* (London, 1845), pp. 109 (Timoleague), 111 (Moyne, plan), 112 (Moyne, cloisters), 134 (Moyne, fireplace); facing p. 111 (Kilconnell).

[62]J. G. Robertson, *Antiquities and Scenery of the County of Kilkenny* (Kilkenny, 1851). Unpaginated and unnumbered.

[63]Note by, quoted in notes to *The Annals of Ireland by Friar John Clyn* . . . ed. R. Butler (Dublin, 1849), p. 67.

roof, seems to stand near the east end of the north wall of the choir. Strange to say, the east gable is shown with five lancet windows, although it really has seven. The Ordnance Survey letters contain rough drawings of windows and doors of several friaries—Adare, Askeaton, Kilnalahan, Lislaughtin, Meelick, Wicklow, etc., but none of great utility.[64] A rapid sampling of part of the large collection of Ordnance Survey sketches in the Royal Irish Academy did not reveal anything of value.[65] Sir William Wilde's well-known work on Lough Corrib, which first appeared in 1867, has woodcuts of Claregalway and Ross.[66] Four lithographs of Ross are to be found in Burke's booklet on that friary, published in 1868.[67] Several plates, woodcuts, and diagrams of Adare are given in the large volume on Adare Manor by the Countess of Dunraven, which was printed for private circulation in 1865.[68]

Periodicals, eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth century, have their quota of illustrations to offer. *The Copper Plate Magazine* has a distant view of Kilkenny, which shows the friary tower and part of the church.[69] *The Gentleman's Magazine* during the course of the eighteenth century does not seem to have anything for our study, but around the middle of the nineteenth century it published drawings of details of Askeaton and Muckross.[70] *The Archaeological Journal* illustrated an article on Irish religious houses, which it published in 1915, with photographs, plans, and drawings of some Irish friaries, namely, Adare, Kilkenny, and Muckross.[71] *The Journal of the Association for the Preservation of the Memorials of the Dead in Ireland*, as its title suggests, rather confines itself to inscriptions on tombs, monuments, and chalices.[72] *The Dublin Penny Journal* published views of Dundalk, Kilcrea, Meelick, Quin, Waterford, etc., but some were merely reproductions from works, reference to which has already

[64]*Letters containing Information relative to the Antiquities . . . collected during the progress of the Ordnance Survey in 1834.* Typescript reproduction by M. O'Flanagan (Bray, 1927-35).

[65]Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, reading room. The Academy and National Library have several manuscripts of the nineteenth century apart from those mentioned, which contain views and details of Irish Franciscan friaries. See many, for instance, in T. J. Westropp, *Sketches in Ireland,* Royal Irish Academy, MS 3 A 46-52.

[66]W. R. Wilde, *Lough Corrib, its Shores and Islands* (Dublin, 1867), pp. 52 (Claregalway), 112 (Ross).

[67]O. J. Burke, *The Abbey of Ross, its History and Details* (Dublin, 1868), facing pp. 41, 43, 53, 62.

[68]*Memorials of Adare Manor, by Caroline, Countess of Dunraven. With historical notices of Adare, by her son, the Earl of Dunraven* (Oxford, 1865), pp. 81, 82, 83, 85, 87, 89, 90, 92, 290, and plates 19-22.

[69]*The Copper Plate Magazine, or elegant cabinet of picturesque prints consisting of sublime and interesting views of Great Britain and Ireland, beautifully engraved by the most eminent artists from the paintings and drawings of the first masters,* IV (London, 1799), plate 173.

[70]*The Gentleman's Magazine,* CCXVI (London, 1864, 1), 420, 421, 422, 424 (Muckross); CCXVII (1864, 2), 543, 544 (Askeaton).

[71]*Archæological Journal, LXXII* (London, 1915), facing p. 110 (photo of Adare), facing p. 115 (photo of Muckross), p. 116 (plan of Muckross), p. 117 (drawing of Muckross), p. 121 (plan of Adare), p. 127 (photo of Kilkenny, east window).

[72]Annual reports published from Dublin, beginning in 1888.

Wicklow, *c.* 1793. From Grose

been made.[73] The new series begun in 1902 published a picture of Claregalway as it looked in 1829.[74] *The Irish Builder* has views of Ennis, Ardfert, etc.[75] A more thorough search of the foregoing would doubtless bring several more views and drawings of architectural details to light.

For our purpose, the richest quarry of all is this *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*. In its pages will be found valuable illustrations of all kinds of Adare, Ardfert, Buttevant, Claregalway, Ennis, Moyne, Muckross, Quin, Ross, Timoleague, Wicklow, Youghal, and even that list does not aim at completeness.[76] Among other Irish historical and archaeological periodicals, the most important for us are: *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*; *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*; *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*; *Journal of the County Kildare Archaeological Society;* and, of course, the annual reports of the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland.

In our own century along with the continuation of several historical and archaeological periodicals, there are the illustrations in various county, diocesan, town, and parish histories, in newspapers and tourist guides, as well as commercial postcards and numerous photographs by private individuals, to provide us with a plentiful supply of visual aids for our study. Worthy of special mention is a volume published in London in 1910, namely Arthur Champney's *Irish Ecclesiastical Architecture*, which has photographs, both interior and exterior views, both general and particular aspects, of Adare, Ardfert, Askeaton, Donegal, Dromahaire, Ennis, Kilconnell, Kilkenny, Moyne, Muckross, Quin, and Ross.[77]

Photographs are trustworthy witnesses, but many of the drawings, paintings, and sketches we have mentioned, have to be used with caution. Sometimes they actually contradict one another. Due allowance must be made for poor powers of observation, faulty memory, careless reproduction, bad draughtsmanship, and artistic licence, yet, carefully controlled from other sources of information, and judiciously compared among themselves, they can be made to yield much useful information. They are often our only evidence for former features that the hand of the despoiler has since demolished or the hand of time has gently or violently levelled again with mother earth. The towers of Buttevant, Enniscorthy, and Lislaughtin no longer stand, but fortunately we have pictures to show us what they looked like. The towers of Cavan and Ennis as they appear today seem out of character with the other

[73] *The Dublin Penny Journal*, I- (Dublin, 1832-).

[74] *Id.*, I, n.s., no. 13 (28 June, 1902).

[75] *The Irish Builder. Architecture, Archæology, Engineering, Sanitation, Arts, and Handicrafts*, XXXVII (Dublin, 1895), 230 (Ennis); XXXVIII (1896), 83 (Ardfert).

[76] *Transactions of the Kilkenny Archæological Society*, I (Dublin, 1849-51), continuing under a variety of titles and through several series down to our day. The whole series is now generally referred to as the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* and given retrospectively one consecutive series of volume numbers.

[77] A. Champney, *Irish Ecclesiastical Architecture with some notice of similar or related work in England, Scotland and elsewhere* (London, 1910), passim.

Franciscan towers. The 1593 sketch of Cavan and the 1780 view of Ennis resolve the anomaly. They testify that both were originally quite similar to the typical Franciscan tower but have since undergone extensive repairs and alterations. There was formerly a battlemented parapet on Cavan tower; now there is a roofed-in small upper storey. There are now corner spikes on the Ennis tower; there were none in 1780. Old drawings are often our only evidence for the former existence of certain transepts, chapels, and lean-tos that have since disappeared without trace. They are sometimes our only source for the style of door or arch or for the type of tracery that formerly filled a particular window.

The nineteenth century maps of the Ordnance Survey provide outline maps of all the Franciscan ruins that were still standing. They are on a relatively small scale and, of course, mere outlines, but they can be useful, first, when nothing better offers, secondly, as a sort of site plan when information is required about the location of the friary in relation to other landmarks, and thirdly, as an important link in the chronological chain of evidence for the gradual transformation or dissolution of the building.

Modern architectural plans, elevations, sections, and details of the different friaries are almost indispensable, but, alas! not all the ruins have yet been adequately surveyed. It is presumably the aim of the National Monuments Branch of the Office of Public Works eventually to publish plans, etc., of all the friary ruins under their care, but so far only those of Buttevant, Dromahaire, Galbally, Kilcrea, Muckross, Quin, Sherkin, and Timoleague, have appeared.[78] Through the courtesy of Mr Percy Le Clerc, Inspector of National Monuments, and the kindness of the Commissioners, I have been enabled to inspect and use several other plans and sketch plans in their possession that have not yet been published.

Dr H. G. Leask, ex-Inspector, has published excellent plans of Donegal.[79] Muckross,[80] Multyfarnham,[81] and Nenagh.[82] At an earlier period Thomas Johnson Westropp published plans of Askeaton,[83] Ennis,[84]

[78]The following plans have appeared: Buttevant in 77th rep. (1908-9), p. 34, and extract, p. 25; Dromahaire (under the title of Creevelea Abbey) in 82nd rep. (1913-14), appendix E, p. 54 (ground floor), p. 55 (upper floor), and extract, p. 3 (ground floor), p. 4 (upper floor); Galbally (under the title of Moor Abbey) in 106th rep. (1937-8), facing p. 28 and leaflet, p. [5]; Kilcrea in 77th rep. (1908-9). p. 28 (ground floor), p. 29 (upper floor), and extract, p. 19 (ground floor), p. 20 (upper floor); Muckross in H. G. Leask, *The Friary of Muckross commonly called 'Muckross Abbey'*, 2nd ed. (n.p., n.d.), facing p. 1 (ground floor), p. 7 (upper floor): Quin in 50th rep. (1881-2), appendix E, facing p. 90, no. 5; Sherkin in 77th rep. (1908-9); p. 15, and extract p. 6; Timoleague in 77th rep. (1908-9), p. 19 (ground and upper floors), and extract, p. 10.

[79]T. O'Donnell, *Franciscan Donegal* (Rossnowlagh, [1952]), p. 54.

[80]*Jn. Cork Hist. Soc.*, XLV (1940), 86 (ground floor), 88 (upper floor), and booklet published by the Commissioners of Public Works, already referred to.

[81]*Franciscan College Annual, 1950*, p. 13, reprinted in T. O'Donnell, *Franciscan Abbey of Multyfarnham* (Multyfarnham, 1951), facing p. 17.

[82]*Molua, 1938*, p. 37.

[83]*JRSAI*, XXXIII (1903), 250; reprinted in J. Begley, *The Diocese of Limerick: Ancient and Medieval* (Dublin, 1906), facing p. 358.

[84]*JRSAI*, XXV (1895), 139; reprinted id., XXX (1900), facing p. 443. This plan was drawn in 1893. An earlier one by him, done in 1886, was published in *JRSAI*, XIX (1889), facing p. 44.

Kilcrea,[85] and Quin.[86] Earlier again Richard Brash published a plan of Buttevant,[87] and we have seen that a plan of Moyne by Wilkinson appeared in 1845, and that already in the eighteenth century Grose had published plans of Dromahaire, Kilconnell, and Multyfarnham, and that there were already in existence Rocque's outline plans of Armagh and Kilkenny, Scale's and Richard's of Waterford, and Cooper's of Kilcullen.

There are also plans of Adare[88] and Ross[89] in the books on those places referred to above; of Kilconnell in Francis Joseph Bigger's *Franciscan Friary of Killconnell;*[90] of Kilnalahan in J. P Dalton's series of articles on that friary;[91] of Muckross by G. V. Du Noyer in *The Gentleman's Magazine*[92] and in *JRSAI*[93] and by Maurice R. Moriarty in M. J. Moriarty's guide;[94] of Dromahaire by W. A. Scott;[95] of Claregalway by Robert Cochrane;[96] of Ardfert by George A. E. Hickson;[97] of Donegal by W. J. Fennell[98] and by some local antiquarian who, however, allowed himself to be influenced more by the plan of Ross than by the surviving remains at Donegal itself.[99] Reference has already been made to plans of Adare and Muckross published in *The Archaeological Journal* for 1915.

It will be seen that there are several friaries for which there is more than one plan, each drawn by a different person, as in the case of Buttevant, Donegal, Dromahaire, Kilconnell, Kilcrea, Muckross, Multyfarnham, and Quin. And as one would expect, the same plan by the same person is often to be found reproduced in different places, for instance, Ross in Burke's booklet and in a leaflet printed later without date by the *Connaught Tribune*; Westropp's plan of Askeaton in *JRSAI* and in Begley's history of the diocese of Limerick; Westropps' plan of Ennis in several different volumes of *JRSAI;* Du Noyer's plan of Muckross in *The Gentleman's Magazine* and in *JRSAI;* Dr H. G. Leask's plan of Multyfarnham in the *Franciscan College Annual* and in Fr Terence O'Donnell's history of the friary. There are also examples of different plans of the same friary by the same person, as in the case of the two different plans of Ennis done at different times by Westropp.

Irish Franciscan archival sources, providing, as they frequently

[85]*Jn. Cork Hist. Soc.*, XIV (1908), p. 169; and separately, T. J. Westropp, *The Monastery of St Brigid, Kilcrea, and the Castle of the MacCarthys* (n.p., n.d.), p. 13.

[86]*JRSAI*, XXX (1900), 432 (upper floor), 434 (ground floor).

[87]*JRSAI*, II (1852-3), facing p. 89.

[88]*Memorials of Adare Manor, by Caroline, Countess of Dunraven*, plate 18.

[89]O. J. Burke, *The Abbey of Ross*, facing p. 1.

[90]F. J. Bigger, *The Franciscan Friary of Killconnell, in the County of Galway* (Galway, 1901), facing p. 17. This is an offprint or reprint from *Jn. Galway Arch. Soc.*, I (1901).

[91]*Jn. Galway Arch. Soc.*, IV (1910), facing p. 187.

[92]*The Gentleman's Magazine*, CCXVI (1864, 1), 418.

[93]*JRSAI*, XXII (1892), 161.

[94]M. J. Moriarty, *Guide to Muckross Abbey* (Dublin, [1948]), inside front cover.

[95]*UJA*, V (1899), 192.

[96]*JRSAI*, XXXI (1901), 329.

[97]*JRSAI*, XXV (1895), 34.

[98]*UJA*, VI (1900), 225.

[99]In S. O'Brien, *Measgra i gcuimhne Mhichil Ui Chléirigh* (Dublin, 1944), 23, and elsewhere previously.

would, contemporary evidence, would have been of supreme value, but, unfortunately, nearly all have perished. Copies of parts of the chartulary of Claregalway, of the necrology of Galway, of the annals of Nenagh, and a few other similar items, are all that have come down to us. Some short extracts have also been preserved thanks to the zeal of historians like Sir James Ware, Fr Donagh Mooney, O.F.M., Archbishop King, and Walter Harris. In a Ware manuscript now preserved in the British Museum occur quotations from and references to the book of statutes of the Irish Observants, to books of obits, house registers, and the like.[100] This tract has not yet been published, but much of the information it contains has been made available through King, Harris, Archdall, and various later writers. It is through this manuscript of Ware and through Donagh Mooney's tract on the history of the Irish Franciscans[101] that we know when and by whom were built portions of the friaries at Adare and Timoleague.

It is through Ware's manuscript, for instance, that an excerpt from the book of obits of Timoleague is preserved, which informs us that the bell-tower, the library, the infirmary, and one of the dormitories were built thanks to the generous aid of Bishop John Edmund De Courcy. He became bishop of Clogher in 1484, was transferred to Ross in 1498, died in 1518, and was buried in Timoleague friary, of which he had formerly been a member.[102]

Donagh Mooney's tract is extremely important from another point of view as well. About the years 1617-18 he visited a very large number of those ruins and has preserved for us not merely information from written and oral records since lost, but details about their state at that period—whether they were wholly or partly demolished, being used for stores or as a barracks, and so forth. Often also he tells whether a friary was large or small, simple or elaborate, how or when or by whom it was pulled down or transformed. We shall make much use in the following pages of the information he has handed down to us, but here, to give an idea of the sort of information to expect from him, are some details which we may not have occasion to refer to under later headings.

Dundalk had a fairly large church, but was then totally destroyed except the bell tower. The gardens and precincts were small, but the situation was a good one. Of Monaghan there remained not a stone upon a stone, as Edward Blaney, an English Protestant, and governor of the town, had taken them to build himself a magnificent residence about two hundred yards away. Armagh had been destroyed during the Nine Years War. The walls of the friary at Downpatrick were still intact, but the roofs had fallen in for want of repairs, because the friars were not allowed by the English to reside there. Cavan was burned by the English during

[100]British Museum, MS Add. 4821, ff. 100r-13v.

[101]D. Monaeus, 'Tractatus de provincia Hiberniae', ed. B. Jennings, in *Anal. Hib.*, VI, 12-138.

[102]British Museum, MS Add. 4821, ff. 102v-103r.

the Nine Years War and the walls broken down and almost levelled with the ground.

Galway remained in its pristine state except that the Protestants had broken down the altars. It was a very large and beautiful church and could boast several magnificent tombs. It was then being used as a courthouse in which both civil and criminal cases were tried, and the judge's seat occupied the site of the high altar. Ennis, too, was being used as a courthouse, but thanks to the friendship of the earl of Thomond, who, serving the time, passed as a Protestant, the place was kept in good repair. He let out the convent in flats to English settlers, but on condition that they would not alter the lay-out.

Limerick was beautifully situated on an island in the middle of the Shannon under the walls of the city, to the east, and beside the river. It was a rather large building, but the materials used were not so good and the roofs had gone, and the throwing down of the whole edifice was being contemplated. A Protestant named Sesnan was using part of the friary for skinning animals. Muckross was perfect until the recent wars, but since then it was falling to pieces. Youghal was all destroyed except the walls of the church and of some other buildings. At Buttevant the buildings were not well-proportioned, but they were large and there were plenty of them. The church still retained its roof. The roofs of Roscrea had fallen, and only the walls and windows with some of the glass in them remained. It was a small but well-proportioned friary. The church at Clonmel was still in good repair and contained the tombs of many illustrious people, including that of the baron of Cahir in the middle of the choir, of marble, slightly projecting, adorned with images and statues. At Waterford the church was still intact and was being used for burials and occasionally for celebrating mass and preaching, but the conventual buildings had been transformed into houses for lay-people, many new houses had been erected in the grounds, and new roads had been cut through them. The townspeople constructed an upper storey over the church and transept to serve as a hospital for the sick and infirm poor, one section for the men, another for the women, and called it the Holy Ghost Hospital.

The friary at New Ross had collapsed through old age. At Kilcullen the church and chapel still remained as in pre-reformation times, except for certain injuries to the ceilings and pictures, but part of the conventual buildings had fallen in for want of repairs and the remaining portion had been occupied by an Englishman for the previous thirty years or so. Stradbally had been thrown down by Francis Cosby, who built a dwelling house for himself in the same place from the materials. Killeigh had pretty good buildings until the destruction of 1598 during the Nine Years War. Kildare was practically all destroyed. The roofs were stripped off Clane in the early years of the introduction of the reformation by certain malefactors, who, however, suffered death under

such circumstances that everybody attributed it to the divine vengeance. Wicklow was small and poor and was being used for the county assemblies. The whole friary of Dublin was pulled down after the suppression of the monasteries, except that the elaborate east window survived for a long time afterwards until bought by an English Protestant. In Donagh Mooney's time there were only gardens on the site. At Trim all the roofs had collapsed except that of the nave, which was kept in repair for the holding of the county assemblies. Athlone friary was situated on the Leinster side beside the river, but only the walls of the church and some of the domestic buildings remained standing. The church was large.

Donagh Mooney never visited Bantry, Carrickfergus, or Lislaughtin, at least down to the time he compiled his history, nor does he appear, down to that time, to have seen Askeaton, Downpatrick, Elphin, or the island friary at Sherkin.

About the only documents in the papal archives that would add anything to our knowledge are bulls of foundation and grants of indulgences to all who should contribute or in any way help in the rebuilding or repair of a friary. Most of the surviving foundation bulls date from the fifteenth century. These and the grants of indulgences will be found in the *Bullarium Franciscanum,* and in the *Regestum Pontificium* appended to each volume of *Annales Ordinis Minorum.*

British government archival documents preserve for us many scattered but precious grains of information, the most important classes of documents being the writs of liberate, the grants, and the inquisitions. The close and liberate rolls often contain the earliest contemporary evidence that a particular friary was already in existence. The grants and inquisitions identify a friary as Franciscan, give its location and extent, and often a list of the chief buildings and rooms.

At first blush, such a publication as the *Calendar of Patent and Close Rolls of Chancery in Ireland* might not seem to be a likely source for the student of the history of Irish architecture, yet it contains a number of items that will give him a fair idea of some friary no longer existing and of which no sketch is available, or help him to identify the different parts and draw up a plan of some friary of which there are still fairly substantial remains. To take a few examples. Adare, we are told in one roll calendared in it, consisted in 1595 of church, cloister, hall, dormitory, library, three chambers, kitchen, bakery, watermill, etc. Kilconnell in that year contained a church, a chapel called O'Donnellan's Chapel, the council house, the library, the hall, the buttery, four chambers with chimneys, twenty-eight small chambers called 'dortors', with several small houses, four gardens, etc. Moyne in the same year comprised a church, a dormitory, two stone dormitories wholly ruined and in decay, the site of a watermill, a cemetery and orchard, and four acres of pasture surrounded with stone walls.[103]

The copious extracts from the inquisitions published by Archdall are likewise useful, especially for houses like Clane, Dublin, Enniscorthy, Kildare, Kilcullen, and Trim, of which few or no features of interest have survived. An inquisition of 1542 informs us that in 1540 Clane consisted of church, chapter-house, dormitory, store, kitchen, two chambers, and stable. In 1540 Dublin had a church, belfry, dormitory, and three chambers. In 1539-40 Enniscorthy had a church, belfry, chapter-house, dormitory, hall, four chambers, and kitchen. In 1542 Kildare had a church, belfry, dormitory, hall, three chambers, and kitchen. In 1539 Kilcullen had a church, belfry, dormitory, hall, two chambers, and kitchen. When Trim was taken over in the king's name it consisted of the church and steeple, a dormitory, a hall, three chambers, and several work-rooms, a mill and water-course, and another church then in ruins called the Mawdelin's Chapel.[104]

The reports of the royal commission on the extents of monastic possessions, c. 1540-1, though by no means complete, either in the sense of embracing all the friaries in the country or in the sense of giving anything like a detailed survey or inventory of each friary examined, nevertheless furnish useful information about the state of most of the friaries of Leinster and Munster within a few years after their suppression.

The chancel, church, and part of the dormitory of Clane were destroyed by order of Lord Leonard Grey for the purpose of repairing the king's castle at Maynooth. There was a chapel called Bestwyk's Chapel off the church at Drogheda. All the buildings at Dundalk, with the exception evidently of the tower, since that still stands, had been thrown down by order of Lord Leonard Grey. The church and house at Kilcullen were still standing and in good repair, the latter at the time of the survey being occupied by Sir Thomas Eustace, baron of Kilcullen. All the buildings at Kildare had been burnt by O'Connor in the previous May 1540, except the church and two-thirds of the cloister. The commissioners recommended that the remaining buildings be thrown down. Whatever still stood at Kilkenny was required by the tenant—the church, and four old *tecture*, that is, presumably, lean-to or some such simple roofed structures. The church, dormitory, cloister, and hall at Limerick, were of no further use, according to the commissioners, and could be pulled down. The church and some other buildings still stood at Trim, but could be thrown down and the stones used for the building of a mansion. We shall have occasion under different headings later to quote from these reports, in particular about Multyfarnham, Waterford, and Youghal.[105]

[103]*Cal. Pat. Rolls Ire., Hen. VIII—Chas I*, II, 303 (Kilconnell), 312 (Moyne), 319 (Adare).

[104]M.Archdall, *Monasticon Hibernicum* (Dublin, 1786), pp. 579 (Trim), 741 (Enniscorthy), 795 (Dublin), 801 (Clane), 802 (Kildare), 804 (Kilcullen). Cf. *Ir. Rec. Comm. Rep. 1815-20*. pp. 562-612.

[105]N.B. White, *Extents of Irish Monastic Possessions, 1540-1541 from manuscripts in the Public Record Office, London* (Dublin, 1943), passim.

The accounts of the sums realised by the sales of chattels of some suppressed monasteries[106] contain a few references to roofing, bells, altar-plate, church ornaments, and the demolition of parts of some of the friaries, but hardly anything of interest for our purpose.

The old annals and chronicles, Anglo-Irish and native Irish, have an occasional entry about the building, burning, or demolition of a particular friary, yet, all things considered, surprisingly little. The Annals of Nenagh tell us the names of the benefactors who were responsible for the erection of certain rooms and buildings at Ennis, Kildare, and Nenagh in the fourteenth century.[107] The Annals of Fr John Clyn, O.F.M., tell of the building of a new choir at Kilkenny in 1321 and of other repairs and improvements.[108]

Strange as it may seem to some, the Annals of the Four Masters are not a primary source, or even of much importance, for our study. Most of their entries are garnered from other works which are still extant, such as the tracts on Irish Franciscan history of Frs Donagh Mooney and Francis O'Mahony, the Annals of Loch Cé, the Annals of Connaught, and the Annals of Ulster. It may seem equally strange, although it is equally true, that for a similar reason the famous *Annales Ordinis Minorum* of Fr Luke Wadding, O.F.M., can usually be ignored. Two qualifications should be made. Wadding and his helpers discovered some important documents in the papal archives which throw light on dates of foundation and repair of Irish friaries, and he often printed them as an appendix to the different volumes of his annals in the *Regestum Pontificium* to which we have already referred. In the body of the annals he refers briefly to the information they contain. These, however, can all be equally conveniently consulted in the *Bullarium Franciscanum* to which also reference has been made above. In fact, the *Bullarium* often contains additional matter that was unknown to Wadding. The second qualification is that occasionally, although admittedly only very occasionally, Wadding either from his own personal observation, as in the case of Waterford friary,[109] or perhaps from information given orally by some of his confrères, as in the case of the Cork friary,[110] includes a few minor items of architectural interest.

Many of the works cited about in dealing with illustrations also contain descriptive letterpress, long or short, on the buildings portrayed, their actual state, or some of their points of interest, for instance, the works of Brewer, Burke, Champney, Cooper, the Countess of Dunraven, Fisher, Grose, Moriarty, Robertson, Smith, and Wilkinson. As already mentioned, some of Cooper's work still lies in manuscript in private

[106] C. McNeill, 'Accounts of Sums realised by Sales of Chattels of some suppressed Irish Monasteries', in *JRSAI*, LII (1922), 11-37.

[107] 'The Annals of Nenagh', ed. D. F. Gleeson, in *Anal. Hib.*, XII (1943), pp. 161-2.

[108] *The Annals of Ireland. By Friar John Clyn . . .*, ed. R. Butler (Dublin, 1849), pp. 15, 34.

[109] L. Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, 3rd ed., III, 52.

[110] *Id.*, II, 310.

possession, but of the printed material we have brief but useful descriptions by him of Askeaton, Carrick-on-Suir, Cashel, Kilcullen, Roscrea.[111] He merely mentions Castledermot, since, as he says, he did not have time to examine it.[112] Usually he was a careful observer, but his ideas of the lay-out of a friary were rather confused. He mistook the nave of the church at Kilcullen for the refectory, with the result that some later writers, under his influence, stated that the refectory was still standing in the year 1782. Smith gives a brief account of the ruins of Carrick-on-Suir in his history of Waterford;[113] of Buttevant, Kilcrea, Sherkin and Timoleague in his history of Cork;[114] and of Ardfert and Muckross in his history of Kerry.[115] He has a few lines about Lislaughtin but no mention of the state of the ruins.[116] Champneys and Wilkinson, of course, as the titles of their books indicate, discuss the architectural aspects of the buildings *ex professo*.

As regards descriptions, the Ordnance Survey letters are rather inconsistent. They go into detail about Kilnalahan,[117] Lislaughtin,[118] Clonmel, Nenagh, Roscrea,[119] and Wicklow;[120] ignore other ruins that are equally interesting and important; and face to face with Quin, one of the best preserved ruins of a religious house in the whole country, content themselves with giving quotations about it from the annals and other such sources.

There are a few works deserving of mention, although they have not yet been discussed since they do not provide visual aids like illustrations and maps and sections and elevations. One is the journal of a tour in Ireland in 1752 made by that indefatigable traveller over Europe and the Near East. Richard Pococke, afterwards Protestant bishop of Ossory, and later of Meath. Among the ruined Franciscan frairies he described during his Irish tour are Adare, Claregalway, Donegal, Moyne, Quin, but usually, alas! his descriptions are too brief to be valuable.[121] Another

[111] L. Price, *An Eighteenth Century Antiquary: the sketches, notes and diaries of Austin Cooper*, pp. 20 (Carrick-on-Suir), 29 (Askeaton), 30 (Cashel), 93 (Kilcullen), 118 (Roscrea).

[112] *Id.*, p. 90.

[113] C. Smith, *The Ancient and Present State of the County and City of Waterford*, 2nd ed., p. 92.

[114] C. Smith, *The Ancient and Present State of the County and City of Cork*, 2nd ed., I, 202-3 (Kilcrea), 244 (Timoleague), 282 (Sherkin), 313-14 (Buttevant).

[115] C. Smith, *The Ancient and Present State of the County of Kerry*, 2nd ed., pp. 143 (Muckross), 204-5 (Ardfert).

[116] *Id.*, pp. 226-7.

[117] *Letters containing Information relative to the Antiquities of the County of Galway collected during the progress of the Ordnance Survey in 1839*, II, 505-14.

[118] *Letters containing Information relative to the Antiquities of the County of Kerry collected during the progress of the Ordnance Survey in 1841*, pp. 15-18.

[119] *Letters containing Information relative to the Antiquities of the County of Tipperary collected during the progress of the Ordnance Survey in 1840*, III, 210-15 (Clonmel), 295-301 (Nenagh), 378-82 (Roscrea).

[120] *Letters containing Information relative to the Antiquities of the County of Wicklow collected during the progress of the Ordnance Survey in 1838, pp.* 300-4.

[121] *Pococke's Tour in Ireland in 1752*, ed. G. T. Stokes (Dublin, 1891), pp. 69-70 (Donegal), 79-80 (Moyne), 103 (Clare-Galway), 116 (Adare), etc.

is the well-known *Monasticon* of Mervyn Archdall, to which we have already referred in another connection. Besides bringing together in convenient form references to the religious houses from official and semi-official sources, he sometimes reports briefly on the actual state of the ruins. More often than not, however, he is here merely echoing what Ware and Pococke (to whom at one time he was chaplain), wrote before him. The topographical-historical dictionary of Ireland of Samuel Lewis published in 1837 also occasionally provides a clue to the state of the buildings in the early part of the last century.[122]

Lest some might be inclined to despise works like Brewer's and Newenham's, designed as they were, merely for popular perusal, let us cite just one example of their utility as contemporary witnesses. The distinguished archaeologist, Thomas J. Westropp, in a long paper on the antiquities of Askeaton read before the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland in July 1901 and October 1902, and afterwards published in this *Journal,* found himself faced with a serious difficulty about whether there was ever a tower at Askeaton.[123] If, he stated, it ever existed, it had left absolutely no trace. Yet the picture in *Pacata Hibernia,* to which reference has already been made, clearly showed one. The only solution he could suggest was that, like other Franciscan towers, it was an afterthought and so was not bonded into the walls; that it was destroyed for the sake of ensuring the safety of the neighbouring castle of Askeaton from attack; and that the friars entirely removed its débris when they partially restored the church between 1643 and 1650, when, of course, if left no mark on the wall. Had he thought of dipping into Newenham (he seems to have seen the picture but not the letterpress), he would have found that all his surmises, with the probable exception of that about the unbonding of the walls, were off the mark. Newenham writing about 1830 informs us that the square tower of Askeaton was considered beautiful and was of great height but had lately fallen in consequence of some persons having removed the quoin stones.

Adequate, or fairly adequate descriptions from the architectural point of view, of over two dozen friary ruins have already been published: Adare by Richard R. Brash in 1858[124] and by the Countess of Dunraven in 1865;[125] Ardfert by M. A. Hickson in 1895 (with an extensive quotation from W. F. Wakeman);[126] Askeaton by Thomas Johnson Westropp in 1903;[127] Buttevant by Richard R. Brash in 1852-3[128] and by the Commissioners of Public Works, report for 1908-9;[129] Carrick-on-Suir (before being incorporated in the parish church) by R. H. Ryland in 1824[130] and after

[122]S. Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland . . . with Historical and Statistical Descriptions,* 2 vols. (London, 1837).

[123]*JRSAI,* XXXIII (1903), 240.

[124]*JRSAI, IV* (1856-7), 61-70.

[125]*Memorials of Adare, by Caroline, Countess of Dunraven,* pp. 74-93.

[126]*JRSAI,* XXV (1895), 30-40.

[127]*JRSAI,* XXXIII (1903), 32-4, 240-54.

[128]*JRSAI,* II (1852-3), 83-96.

[129]77th rep. (1908-9), pp. 34-9. and extract, 25-30.

[130]R. H. Ryland, *The History, Topography and Antiquities of the County and City of Waterford* (London, 1824), pp. 287-9.

that event by Patrick Power in 1896;[131] Claregalway by Robert Cochrane in 1901;[132] Clonmel by William P. Burke in 1907;[133] Donegal by W. J. Fennell in 1900[134] and by Dr H. G. Leask in 1952;[135] Dromahaire by J. E. MacKenna and W. A. Scott in 1899[136] and by the Commissioners of Public Works, report for 1913-14;[137] Galbally (under the title of Moor Abbey) by the Commissioners of Public Works, report for 1937-8, the description being later issued separately;[138] Kilconnell by Francis J. Bigger in an article in 1901, subsequently issued separately;[139] Kilcrea by T. J. Westropp as an article in 1908, subsequently issued separately;[140] also an account by the Commissioners of Public Works, report for 1908-9;[141] Kilkenny by James Graves in 1849[142] and by William Carrigan in 1905;[143] Kilnalahan in the Ordnance Survey letters[144] and by John P. Dalton in 1909-11;[145] Lislaughtin in the Ordnance Survey letters;[146] Muckross by the Commissioners of Public Works, published without date, the account being also issued as an article in 1940, both under the name of Dr H. G. Leask;[147] another description by M. J. Moriarty in 1948, etc.;[148] Multyfarnham by Dr H. G. Leask in 1950,[149] of which a summarised form was published in 1951;[150] Nenagh in the Ordnance Survey letters[151] and by Dr H. G. Leask in 1938;[152] Quin by T. J. Westropp in 1900;[153] Roscrea in the Ordnance survey letters;[154] Sherkin and Timoleague by the Commissioners of Public Works, report for 1908-9;[155] Waterford by Patrick Power in 1894-5.[156]

Less detailed from the architectural point of view, but of value, are the descriptions of Askeaton by John Henry Parker in 1864;[157] of Castle-

[131] *Jn. Waterford Arch. Soc.*, II (1896), 2-5.

[132] *JRSAI*, XXXI (1901), 324-33.

[133] W. P. Burke, *History of Clonmel* (Waterford, 1907), pp. 299-313.

[134] *UJA*, VI (1900), 224-9.

[135] T. O'Donnell, *Franciscan Donegal*, pp. 53-7.

[136] *UJA*, V (1899), 190-201.

[137] 82nd rep. (1913-14), appendix E, 52-63, and extract issued separately, paginated 1-12.

[138] 106th rep. (1937-8), pp. 27-8, and issued as eight-page, unpaginated booklet, n. d., under name of H. G. Leask.

[139] F. J. Bigger, *The Franciscan Friary of Kilconnell* (Galway, 1901); originally published in *Jn. Galway Arch. Soc.*, I (1901).

[140] *Jn. Cork Hist. Soc.*, XIV (1908), 167-74; and separately, T. J. Westropp, *The Monastery of St. Brigid, Kilcrea, and the Castle of the MacCarthys* (n.p., n.d.), 11-18.

[141] 77th rep. (1908-9), pp. 27-34, and extract, pp. 19-25.

[142] Note signed J. G. in notes to *The Annals of Ireland by Friar John Clyn . . .*, ed. R. Butler (Dublin, 1849), pp. 67-9.

[143] W. Carrigan, *Diocese of Ossory*, II, 104-19.

[144] *O.S. Letters, Galway*, II, 505-14.

[145] *Jn. Galway Arch. Soc.*, VI (1909-10), 11-15.

[146] *O.S. Letters, Kerry*, pp. 15-18.

[147] *Jn. Cork Hist. Soc.*, XLV (1940), 85-96; and H. G. Leask, *The Friary of Muckross commonly called 'Muckross Abbey'*, 2nd ed. (n.p., n.d.).

[148] M. J. Moriarty, *Guide to Muckross Abbey*, pp. 2-32.

[149] *Franciscan College Annual*, 1950, pp. 7-15.

[150] T. O'Donnell, *Franciscan Abbey of Multyfarnham*, pp. 14-18.

[151] *O.S. Letters, Tipperary*, III, 295-301.

[152] *Molna*, 1938, pp. 36-8.

[153] *JRSAI*, XXX (1900), 427-39.

[154] *O.S. Letters, Tipperary*, III, 378-82.

[155] 77th rep. (1908-9), pp. 15-18, and extract, pp. 6-9 (Sherkin); 19-27, and extract, pp. 10-18 (Timoleague).

[156] *Jn. Waterford Arch. Soc.*, I (1894-5), 202-20.

[157] *The Gentleman's Magazine*, CCXVII (1864, 2), 542-3.

dermot by M. Comerford in 1895;[158] of Cavan by Dr Philip O'Connell in 1937;[159] of Ennis by T. J. Westropp in 1895 and 1900;[160] of Moyne by the Commissioners of Public Works, report 1881-2,[161] and by J. M. O'Hara in 1898;[162] of Muckross by John Henry Parker in 1864[163] and by Ian C. Hannah in 1915;[164] of Quin by the Commissioners of Public Works, report for 1881-2;[165] of Ross by Oliver J. Burke in 1868[166] and by the Commissioners of Public Works, report for 1881-2.[167] Worth consulting also are the Ordnance Survey Letters for details about the friary of Wicklow;[168] an account in 1940 by Mr T. G. F. Patterson and Dr Oliver Davies, with measurements and illustrations, of the meagre remains at Armagh;[169] and a description by Lord Walter Fitzgerald in 1901 of the little that remains at Kilcullen.[170]

Nothing can take the place of a personal visit to the sites and ruins here dealt with. Realising that, the present writer for the past fifteen years or so has kept before him as a constant aim to see at least once every spot in Ireland on which the Franciscans established a foundation. He has had to bide his time and wait patiently until opportunity offered, circumstances were favourable, or duty of some kind found him in or near those different localities.

He has not yet seen Armagh, Nenagh, or Roscrea, nor the sites where once stood the friaries of Downpatrick, Lisgool, or Monaghan. Bantry he saw only fleetingly from a passing motor-car, but had not the opportunity of stopping and examining the site.

The ruins and sites of all the others, about fifty in all, he has had the good fortune, often thanks to kind friends and relatives, to visit personally and examine for himself. Some he has seen on two or three different occasions at intervals of several years. Unfortunately, although he had a vague intention of writing something about them and was anxious from the beginning to gather any information of use for the compiling of a general history of the Irish Franciscans, he did not foresee what precise form this study would take. It was only in the past few months as he sat at his desk many miles away from those venerable ruins that he realised keenly that many of the notes he had jotted down on the occasion of those visits were of little utility for his present purpose and that a multitude of details and various measurements that he needed now had not been noted at the time.

[158] *Jn. Kildare Arch. Soc.*, I (1895), 373-8.

[159] P. O'Connell, *The Diocese of Kilmore* (Dublin, 1937), pp. 335-6.

[160] *JRSAI*, XXV (1895), 135-54; id., XXX (1900), 441-3.

[161] 50th rep. (1881-2), appendix E, p. 88.

[162] *JRSAI*, XXVIII (1898), 260-3.

[163] *The Gentleman's Magazine*, CCXVI (1864, 1), 419-25.

[164] *Archæological Journal*, LXXII (1915), 115.

[165] 50th rep. (1881-2), appendix E, 89-90.

[166] O. J. Burke, *The Abbey of Ross*, chaps. 3, 4.

[167] 50th rep. (1881-2), appendix E, 88-9.

[168] *O.S. Letters, Wicklow*, pp. 300-4.

[169] *UJA*, 3rd series, III (1940), 99-101.

[170] *Jn. Kildare Arch. Soc.*, III (1901), 301-17.

This study would have benefited immeasurably by another visit to many of the ruins treated of, but that would be to postpone its publication indefinitely. Life is short and precarious, many other works clamour for attention, the better can be the enemy of the good. It is now made available for what it is worth, with all its faults and limitations—a sort of interim report. The most the writer dares to hope is that it will provide some profit and intellectual entertainment for the general reader, stimulate a more intelligent interest in the Franciscan ruins that dot the Irish countryside, and help to clear the ground and smooth the path for some later and more qualified worker in the field.

Sites

Lovers of facile generalisations tell us that the Benedictines chose the hill-tops, the Cistercians the plains, the Jesuits the great cities, the Franciscans the towns, and so forth. Like many generalisations this contains a germ of truth but is sufficiently inaccurate to be practically useless. The Franciscans like the other mendicant orders and unlike many of the older religious orders did indeed tend to settle in or near the cities and towns, because their spirit lead them to mix more with the people than the old orders, to carry religion into the market-place, so to speak, and also because, unlike the monks, they depended more on casual alms than landed property for their sustenance. Over against that tendency was another one that also revealed itself in every age—the aspiration towards the eremitical and contemplative life, which resulted in a choice of secluded sites. We can detect both tendencies at work in Ireland, though the process of isolating one from the other is complicated at times by the political interaction of Gael and Norman.

Within a hundred years of their arrival in Ireland the Franciscans had established themselves in about thirty-four places.[171] All were in or near towns with the exception of Claregalway, Killeigh, Monasteroris, and Multyfarnham. Ardfert, Cavan, and Clane were probably partial exceptions to the rule, and a few other places hardly merited at that period to be dignified with the name of town. Strade at the time could probably boast of no more than a castle and some cabins, but it does not enter fully into the count as it had to be relinquished almost as soon as founded.

Out of about eight new houses founded between 1330 and 1450, only two seem to have been founded in or beside towns, namely Askeaton and Carrick-on-Suir. The others, Goleen, Kilconnell, Kilnalahan, Meelick,

[171]The list in rough chronological order is as follows: Youghal, Cork, Kilkenny, Dublin, Athlone, Waterford, Carrickfergus, Drogheda, Dundalk, Downpatrick, Castledermot, Timoleague, Strade, New Ross, Ardfert, Kildare, Clane. Armagh, Cashel, Multyfarnham, Wexford, Wicklow, Nenagh, Limerick, Roscommon, Clonmel, Buttevant, Ennis, Claregalway, Galway, Cavan, Killeigh, Trim, Monasteroris. Licence for the founding of a house at St Mullins was granted in 1414 and for the founding of one in Donagh O'Mahony's country in 1449. See above.

Muckross, and Quin, were miles away from any populous centre. Goleen was so placed that the most convenient approach would have been by sea. Kilnalahan was hidden at the foot of the Slieve Aughty Mountains. Meelick, we are told, used to be an island for several months of the year because of the spreading waters of the River Shannon. A papal bull issued for the encouragement of the completion of the building of Muckross in 1468 comments that it was about forty miles from the nearest town.[172]

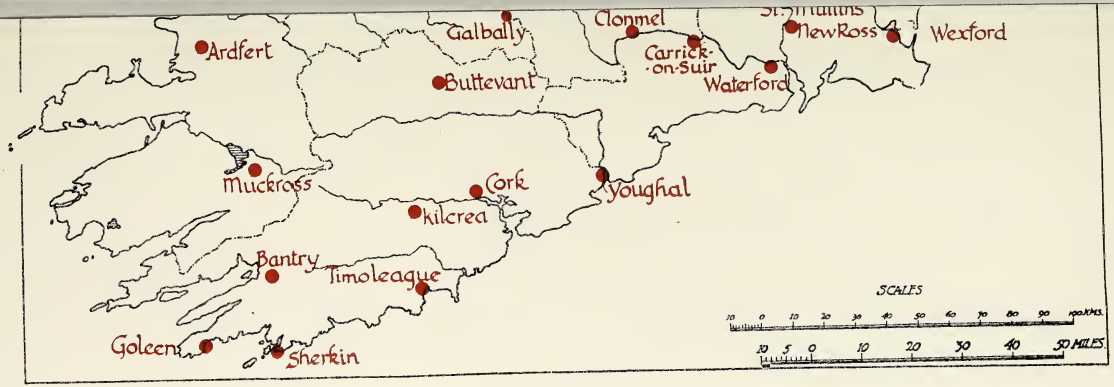
During the period from 1450 to 1530 the tendency was to select country sites, sometimes beside small towns, or like the English manor churches, near the residence of the local lord or chieftain.[173] Reasons for building near a castle would have been: defence and protection in troubled times; convenience of position, since the sites for such castles would have already been chosen because of their convenience to a good harbour or an important ford or bridge, consequently to both river and highway; proximity for the ministering of spiritual services to the lord, his family, and retinue. Galbally was founded during this period in a solitary countryside, although the position near the entrance to the Glen of Aherlow, was of strategic importance in time of war. Lislaughtin and Moyne were as solitary, except that they were situated on the estuaries of the Shannon and the Moy respectively, then presumably busy waterways. Two island sites were chosen, Aran and Sherkin, while Ross was in the middle of a bog, so that in the sixteenth century a causeway had to be constructed to provide convenient access to it.

There is another reason, as we have hinted, why so many of the early friaries were built in or near towns and so many of the latter ones in country areas. During the first two centuries the order was under Anglo-Norman protection and influence and consequently tended to establish itself in those towns of the east and south under Anglo-Norman control. From that time until the suppression, the Irish element in the order was in the ascendant, a national revival was taking place in the country, and consequently houses began to be established in areas in the west and north where the Old Irish were still in control. As the Old Irish were not much given to settling in cities and towns, these were a rarity in those areas, and consequently the later foundations almost of necessity were established in open country or near the castle of the local lord or chieftain with its neighbouring cluster of cabins.

The over-all position can be fairly represented as follows. In the first half century or so, sites with few exceptions were selected along the

[172]L. Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, 3rd ed., XIII, 'Regestum pontificium', p. 645; or *Bullarium Franciscanum*, n.s., II, no. 1467. In the body of the *Annales*, 3rd ed., XIII, 498, the number of miles, through a misprint, is given as eleven instead of forty.

[173]The provisional list of foundations for this period, in alphabetical order, is as follows: Adare, Aran, Bantry, Donegal, Dromahaire, Elphin, Enniscorthy, Galbally, Kilcrea, Kilcullen, Lislaughtin, Monaghan, Moyne, Roscrea, Ross, Sherkin, Stradbally. Licence was granted in 1453 to take over Clonkeen from the Third Order Franciscans. See below.


Ardfert
Galbally
Clonmel
St. Mullins
New Ross
Wexford
Carrick-on-Suir
Waterford
Buttevant
Muckross
Cork
Youghal
Kilcrea
Bantry
Timoleague
Goleen
Sherkin
SCALES
10 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 KMS.
10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 MILES

Muckross, and Quin, were miles away from any populous centre. Goleen was so placed that the most convenient approach would have been by sea. Kilnalahan was hidden at the foot of the Slieve Aughty Mountains. Meelick, we are told, used to be an island for several months of the year because of the spreading waters of the River Shannon. A papal bull issued for the encouragement of the completion of the building of Muckross in 1468 comments that it was about forty miles from the nearest town.[172]

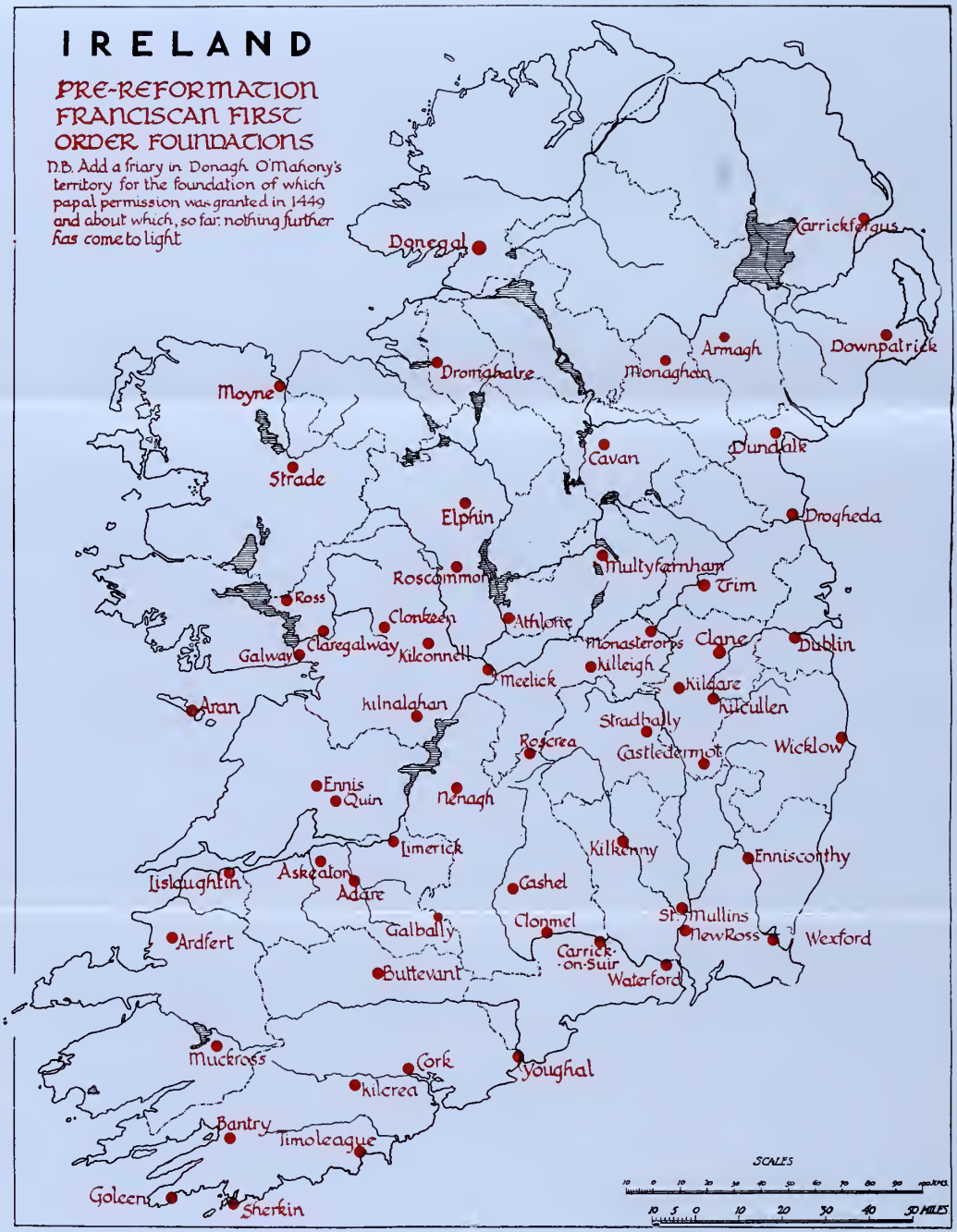
During the period from 1450 to 1530 the tendency was to select country sites, sometimes beside small towns, or like the English manor churches, near the residence of the local lord or chieftain.[173] Reasons for building near a castle would have been: defence and protection in troubled times; convenience of position, since the sites for such castles would have already been chosen because of their convenience to a good harbour or an important ford or bridge, consequently to both river and highway; proximity for the ministering of spiritual services to the lord, his family, and retinue. Galbally was founded during this period in a solitary countryside, although the position near the entrance to the Glen of Aherlow, was of strategic importance in time of war. Lislaughtin and Moyne were as solitary, except that they were situated on the estuaries of the Shannon and the Moy respectively, then presumably busy waterways. Two island sites were chosen, Aran and Sherkin, while Ross was in the middle of a bog, so that in the sixteenth century a causeway had to be constructed to provide convenient access to it.

There is another reason, as we have hinted, why so many of the early friaries were built in or near towns and so many of the latter ones in country areas. During the first two centuries the order was under Anglo-Norman protection and influence and consequently tended to establish itself in those towns of the east and south under Anglo-Norman control. From that time until the suppression, the Irish element in the order was in the ascendant, a national revival was taking place in the country, and consequently houses began to be established in areas in the west and north where the Old Irish were still in control. As the Old Irish were not much given to settling in cities and towns, these were a rarity in those areas, and consequently the later foundations almost of necessity were established in open country or near the castle of the local lord or chieftain with its neighbouring cluster of cabins.

The over-all position can be fairly represented as follows. In the first half century or so, sites with few exceptions were selected along the

[172]L. Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, 3rd ed., XIII, 'Regestum pontificium', p. 645; or *Bullarium Franciscanum*, n.s., II, no. 1467. In the body of the *Annales*, 3rd ed., XIII, 498, the number of miles, through a misprint, is given as eleven instead of forty.

[173]The provisional list of foundations for this period, in alphabetical order, is as follows: Adare, Aran, Bantry, Donegal, Dromahaire, Elphin, Enniscorthy, Galbally, Kilcrea, Kilcullen, Lislaughtin, Monaghan, Moyne, Roscrea, Ross, Sherkin, Stradbally. Licence was granted in 1453 to take over Clonkeen from the Third Order Franciscans. See below.


IRELAND
PRE-REFORMATION FRANCISCAN FIRST ORDER FOUNDATIONS
N.B. Add a friary in Donagh O'Mahony's territory for the foundation of which papal permission was granted in 1449 and about which, so far: nothing further has come to light
Carrickfergus
Donegal
Downpatrick
Armagh
Monaghan
Dromahaire
Moyne
Dundalk
Cavan
Strade
Drogheda
Elphin
Multyfarnham
Roscommon
Trim
Ross
Clonkeen
Athlone
Monasterorps
Clane
Dublin
Claregalway
Galway
Kilconnell
Killeigh
Meelick
Kildare
Kilcullen
Aran
Kilnalahan
Stradbally
Roscrea
Castledermot
Wicklow
Ennis
Quin
Nenagh
Limerick
Kilkenny
Enniscorthy
Lislaughtin
Askeaton
Adare
Cashel
St. Mullins
Clonmel
New Ross
Wexford
Ardfert
Galbally
Carrick-on-Suir
Buttevant
Waterford
Muckross
Cork
Youghal
Kilcrea
Bantry
Timoleague
Goleen
Sherkin
SCALES
MILES
10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 MILES

south and east coasts; in the subsequent century and a half, in south-west Munster, in Clare, and in South Connaught; from that until 1600, in areas still unconquered by the Anglo-Normans, like Aran, Bantry, Donegal, Dromahaire, Elphin, Lisgool, Lislaughtin, and Monaghan, or in pockets of Irish resistance or counter-attack like Enniscorthy of the MacMurrough Kavanaghs, Galbally of the O'Briens and Hibernicised Fitzgeralds, Roscrea of the O'Carrolls, and Stradbally of the O'Moores.

It is rare to find a pre-reformation Franciscan friary situated within the walls of a town. Exceptions were Clonmel, Drogheda, Kilkenny, New Ross, Trim, and Waterford, although even in these cases they may have been outside an earlier enclosure. Some of the towns had no wall or rampart worth talking about when the friars first established themselves, but even in those cases the friaries were located just outside the town precincts. For instance, when the friars first reached Carrickfergus the town was probably defended by no more than a stockade or palisade. Later, when walls were being built in the different towns, the burghers would have preferred not to enclose the friary as well. The greater extent of the wall would have meant greater expense; the larger number to whom the rights of citizens were extended would have resulted in a greater financial burden on the town. When the citizens of New Ross were building the town walls in 1308-9, King Edward II insisted that the house and garden of the Franciscans be included within the walls.[174] The friars at Clonmel were similarly fortunate when town walls were being erected after their establishment in the place.

At Drogheda the friary was just inside the walls, so that the east wall of the choir was in the town wall itself and the friars had a private gate in the wall leading to their garden and orchard on the east side.[175] The friary was outside but quite near the city or town boundaries in the case of Athlone, Carrickfergus, Castledermot, Cork, Dublin, Dundalk, Galway, Limerick, and Youghal. In two of those cases, Galway and Limerick, it was situated on an island, although the tripping tourist of today would hardly realise it. They were placed at some little distance from the town in the case of Armagh, Carrick-on-Suir, Cashel, Donegal, Kilcullen, and Kildare, and perhaps one could say as much for Wexford.

Sites were accepted indifferently north, south, east, or west of the town. The friary was to the east of Dundalk, to the west of Galway, to the north of Askeaton, Athlone, Carrickfergus, and Cork, and to the south of Armagh, Carrick-on-Suir, Castledermot, Donegal, Kildare, New Ross, and Youghal.

Several friaries were founded on the sites of ancient churches or defunct monasteries, for instance, Clane, Elphin, Kilnalahan, Lisgool, Lislaughtin, Monaghan, Nenagh, New Ross, and the first foundation at

[174] L. Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, 3rd ed., V, 481-2, quoting Camden's *Hibernia*, but his reference does not seem to be correct.

[175] D. Monaeus, 'Tractatus', in *Anal. Hib.*, VI, 28.

Dublin. Clane was the site of an ancient Irish abbey. Elphin embodied the old church of St Patrick. Kilnalahan was formerly a Carthusian monastery—the only one in Ireland. Lisgool, having fallen into decay, was taken over from the Augustinians. New Ross was transferred from the Crutched Friars after these had fallen foul of the townspeople. At Clonkeen licence was granted in 1453 to take possession of the Franciscan Third Order friary, but we have no evidence for the erecting of any new buildings.[176]

A few friaries, Carrick-on-Suir, Quin, and Timoleague, and perhaps Enniscorthy, were founded on the remains of old castles. It has been suggested that the little tower at Carrick-on-Suir now embodied in Carrickbeg parish church, but formerly part of the friary, is a survival from the old Butler castle. At Quin portions of the old Norman castle were successfully incorporated in the friary, though the juxtaposition of military and ecclesiastial architecture strikes the visitor as incongruous if he is not already aware of that fact. Timoleague is believed to have been built on the remains or site of an old castle founded by the Barrys.

For obvious reasons, but we shall return to the subject later, the friars always built near a river or the sea. It was the sea in the case of Bantry and Carrickfergus and the two island friaries of Aran and Sherkin. It was a river estuary in the case of Donegal, Lislaughtin, and Moyne. In all other cases it was a river—large, like the Shannon, the Suir, or the Boyne; tiny, like the ones at Galbally, Multyfarnham, and Ross. At Muckross the friary was on the shores of a lake. There are a few places where nowadays the casual visitor at least, fails to discern any watercourse in the vicinity, but that is usually because either the original riverbed has dried up, or, as sometimes happens where there are towns, the watercourse is covered over and hidden from view. There may, however, have been one or two exceptions, like Cashel where, because of the importance of the place, a site was accepted despite the obvious disadvantages of the lack of a natural watercourse.

There was a still greater advantage in being placed not merely near a river but with some of the friary buildings or at least the garden on the very river banks, and that was the happy position at Askeaton, Athlone, Clonmel, Cork, Donegal, Drogheda, Enniscorthy, Galway, Kilkenny, Limerick, Moyne, New Ross, Trim, Waterford, and other places. Now and then it was found that this was not an unmixed blessing. During the great floods of 17 November 1338 the whole friary of Kilkenny was inundated, so that only the high altar and some of the altar steps remained above water.[177] High winds and unprecedented floods on the River Boyne in November and December 1330 carried away water-mills and wreaked great damage on the friaries of Trim and Drogheda. As the annalist puts it, '*fregit domos eorum*', 'the floods knocked the friars' houses'.[178]

[176] *Bullarium Franciscanum*, n.s., I, no. 1705.

[177] *The Annals of Ireland by Friar John Clyn . . .*, ed. R. Butler, p. 28.

[178] 'Annals of Ireland', in *Chartul. St Mary's, Dublin*, II, 372.

Apart from the early pioneering days when some rented rooms or a temporary shack would have been considered sufficient, the site considered ideal for a pre-reformation friary would have been a place close to, but just outside, a city or fair-sized town. There would have been endless scope for the spiritual ministrations of the friars, yet they would not be deprived of that minimum of seclusion they desired, and they could have a few much-needed acres of land. For the greater legal and municipal advantages it offered and the greater security and protection in times of war, they would have been glad to have a site just inside the city walls, a site much favoured by their English confrères, but if they were located in the centre of the city, they would have neither peace nor seclusion, and in all probability little or no land around their friary. Outside the walls or city precincts they could easily acquire a few acres for yards, gardens, and cemetery. Catering as they were for a community of twelve, twenty, forty, or sixty, they liked to have an orchard, a vegetable garden, sometimes a little herbal garden, a piece of bog, a small wood. These usually lay to the east of the friary, now and then also to the north and south. The cemetery, following tradition and because anyway that was the most convenient place, lay to the south and south-east of the church. There was a superstitious belief in many places in pre-reformation times that it boded ill or brought bad luck to have the shadow of the church fall across a grave, so the church planners bowed to popular prejudice and avoided a cemetery that would lie north of the church.

The friary precincts were usually enclosed in some way or another. The 1540 picture of the friary of Carrickfergus shows it surrounded with what appears to be a palisade of wooded stakes, and this probably accounts for the name of *The Pallace* or *The Palis,* by which it was often known. The name derives from Latin *palus,* 'a stake'. The picture in *Pacata Hibernia* shows what seems to be a circular wall of ashlar masonry around the friary at Youghal. Dikes and ditches were common, but the statement often attributed to the Four Masters that Archbishop Patrick O'Scannell cut a very deep, wide dike around the church of the friars at Armagh in 1266 does not seem to be correct.[179] It is based on a double error, misinterpretation by modern historians of what the Four Masters really said, and careless or at least ambiguous recording by the Four Masters of a statement from earlier sources. The early seventeenth century collection of maps in the National Museum, already referred to, do, however, show the friary surrounded by a circular rampart or earthwork with two bulges in it, one to the south, the other to the north.

We find references in the annals and manuscripts in the Irish language to *Múr na mBráthar* at Donegal, Enniscorthy, and elsewhere. This originally would have meant the dike, wall, or palisade that enclosed the friary precincts, but often came by synecdoche (like *The Pallace* at Carrickfergus) to signify the enclosure or the area enclosed, or even the friary

[179]*AFM,* 1266 (III, 400).

in general. It is noteworthy that a dwelling-house built on the old friary grounds at Donegal was called *The Moor,* a survival of the term down to our own day, though now no doubt confused by most English speakers with the English word *moor,* and that Galbally was called *Mowre.*

Donagh Mooney sometimes speaks of outer and inner enclosure walls. He tells us that tradition had it that the outer enclosure wall at Ross was built thanks to the initiative of Fr Farrell MacEgan, who flourished in the middle of the sixteenth century.[180] The two enclosure walls can still be made out. The walls still standing at Adare, Askeaton, Dromahaire, Kilnalahan, Moyne, and a few other places, are in all probability substantially the same as the fifteenth and sixteenth century enclosure walls. The dissolution documents and the patent rolls contain an occasional reference to a stone wall surrounding the friary precincts. A royal commission of c. 1540-1 reported that the cemetery and curtilage at Castledermot was walled with stone.[181] A grant of Moyne by Queen Elizabeth in June 1595 shows that the orchard and four acres of pasture there were surrounded by a stone wall.[182]

Piece-Meal Construction and Alterations

With the exception of those ruinous stone buildings that had been taken over and adapted to their needs, the first churches of the friars were nearly always simple temporary structures, often of timber. Slowly and laboriously they improved their position, extending, heightening, and erecting permanent stone edifices.

The church always came first in their thoughts and invariably constituted the finest portion of their buildings. Next came the more essential domestic buildings, such as the dining-room or refectory, the kitchen, and the dormitory. Until a fairly good stone church was completed, even these often remained light wooden structures with thatched roofs. The east range running northwards from near the eastern end of the north wall of the church was the first to be built after the church itself. Next to be added was the north range, but sometimes after a considerable time-lag. This entailed alterations in the lay-out of the east range as well, so that a room that was originally intended as a refectory now became a chapter-room or recreation-room. The west range was the last of the four to be built, and there are some ruins that show no architectural evidence that there ever existed a stone west range. The suppression of the monasteries intervened before the normal piece-meal method of construction had arrived at full fruition. Some friaries, such as Carrick-on-Suir, founded in 1336, and Dromahaire, founded in 1508, were never completed.

If the community continued to grow and the district to prosper, the

[180] D. Monaeus, 'Tractatus', in *Anal. Hib.*, VI, 53, 57, 108.

[181] N. B. White, *Extents of Irish Monastic Possessions,* p. 170.

[182] M. Archdall, *Monasticon Hibernicum,* p. 507.

west or east ranges were extended northwards, and if progress was maintained, a second quadrangle or cloister court took shape to the north. Carrickfergus and Ross are examples of this, while we can see the process in embryo at Moyne. Sometimes, as in the east range at Claregalway, a third storey was added to provide further sleeping accommodation. Another favourite means of relieving pressure was the erection of a house of one, two, or three storeys at the outer angle of the church and the east range. This served variously as a sacristy, a sacristy store-room, a sacristan's living quarters, an infirmary, a guest-room, a guardian's room, an additional small dormitory, students' or novices' living quarters, or several of these together. Occasionally an abutment was added at the outer angle of the church and the west range to provide any of the following: offices, store-rooms, guardian's room, guest-room, library and archives. As the years passed and needs increased, the process went on —an extension here, an annexe there, a pent-house somewhere else. A large dormitory or library would supersede an earlier, smaller one. A second of third dormitory would be found necessary. A free-standing infirmary or guest-house would appear where before there was just a room within the claustral buildings.

Churches changed almost beyond recognition. Aisles, transepts, and side-chapels were added, towers were inserted, extensions were made to the west end of the nave, and now and then, as at Adare and Kilkenny, to the east end of the choir. Two good examples of this constant development are Kilconnell and Timoleague. Their problem must have been a constantly expanding population. The nave at Timoleague was extended so far westwards as almost to double the original length. Kilconnell is a labyrinth of nave, choir, aisles, transepts, and chapels. Its south transept is even larger than the nave.

We have not merely architectural but documentary evidence to show the sort of piece-meal building that went on. There are frequent references to the construction of a dormitory or refectory or chapter house in a place where the friars were established for generations. There are obits of benefactors who built such a chapel or such a library. We are told of the completion of the friary of Youghal at the expense of Thomas Fitzgerald, second son of the founder.[183] The wording of some annalistic entries, that such a person commenced the erection of the friary, connote that it was continued and completed by others. We have seen about the erection of additional buildings at Timoleague owing to the generosity of Bishop John Edmund De Courcy, who died in 1518.

Isabella Palmer of Kilkenny, who died Palm Sunday 1347, paid for the extension and reconstruction of the east gable of the church at Kilkenny, which had been founded about a hundred years before.[184] The first Sunday of Advent of that same year the friars instituted a con-

[183] J. Lodge, *The Peerage of Ireland*, ed. M. Archdall (Dublin, 1789), I, 61.

[184] *The Annals of Ireland by Friar John Clyn . . .*, ed. R. Butler, p. 34.

fraternity for the erection of a new bell-tower and for repairs to the church.[185] A certain good room was constructed in Nenagh friary thanks to the exertions of Robert Fynian, who died in 1349.[186] The refectory and sacristy at Ennis were constructed by Matha Caoch MacNamara, who died the same year.[187] Ennis and Nenagh were both thirteenth century foundations. Kildare was founded in the period 1254-60, but Joan de Burgo, countess of Kildare, who died in 1359, built a beautiful chapel in which she herself was buried, and also provided other buildings for the friars there.[188]

Castledermot was destroyed by Robert Bruce and his Scottish forces in 1317.[189] Extensive repairs were carried out in the church of Athlone in 1398 after it had been maliciously burned.[190] Similar repairs were being undertaken at Kilnalahan[191] and Askeaton [192] in 1400. Pope Martin V granted indulgences in 1430 to all who should give alms or a helping hand for the repair of the church of the friars of Trim, which had suffered much damage as a result of the wars.[193] Pope Eugene IV granted similar indulgences in 1433 to Claregalway, since due to the wars, etc., it was in great need of repair and the bell-tower had never been completed.[194] Meelick was founded in 1414. Already in 1445 it was threatened with the ruin of the church, dormitory, cloister, and workshops, and repairs on a large scale had to be undertaken.[195] Muckross was being built over a period of more than twenty years.[196] Roscrea was founded in the 1490s, but a tablet erected on a wall in the cloister indicated that at least that portion of the building was built in 1523.[197] About the year 1494 a new dormitory was added to the Galway friary by Edmund Mac Philbin, who died in 1494.[198] The great south transept at Galway and the stone building on arches over the river to the west were erected in 1538 by John French, the mayor.[199] Cavan was burned twice, in 1451 and in 1468,[200] Dromahaire was burned accidentally one night in 1536,[201] and Claregalway hardly escaped unscathed in 1469 when O'Donnell is alleged to

[185]*Ibid.*

[186]'The Annals of Nenagh', ed. D.F. Gleeson, in *Anal. Hib.*, XII, 161.

[187]*Ibid.*

[188]*Id.*, p. 162.

[189]'Annals of Ireland', in *Chartul. St Mary's, Dublin*, II, 299-300.

[190]*Bullarium Franciscanum, VII*, no. 254a.

[191]*Cal. Papal Letters, 1396-1404*, p. 270.

[192]*Bullarium Franciscanum*, VII, no. 311.

[193]*Bullarium Franciscanum*, VII, no. 1889.

[194]*Bullarium Franciscanum*, n.s., I, no. 108; L. Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, X, 'Regestum pontificium', p. 609.

[195]*Bullarium Franciscanum*, n.s., I, no. 890; but there wrongly identified as Multyfarnham. Cf. *Cal. Papal Letters, 1431-47*, p. 470.

[196]*Bullarium Franciscanum*, n.s., II, no. 1467; L. Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, XIII, 'Regestum pontificium', p. 645.

[197]British Museum, MS Add. 4821, f. 106r; and cf. M. Archdall, *Monasticon Hibernicum*, p. 674.

[198]M. J. Blake, *The Obituary Book of the Franciscan Monastery at Galway: with notes thereon* (Galway, 1911), pp. 8, 9. (Originally published in *Jn. Galway Arch. Soc.*, VI and VII).

[199]J. Hardiman, *The History of the Town and County of the Town of Galway* (Dublin, 1820), p. 265.

[200]*AU*, 1451 (III, 170, 172); *ALC*, 1451 (II, 260); *AU*, 1468 (III, 220); *ALC*, 1468 (II, 168, 170).

[201]*AU*, 1536 (III, 606); *ALC*, 1536 (II, 290).

have burned 'Baile-in-cháir', meaning presumably the castle and neighbouring houses.[202]

There is detailed information about Adare. The church, which was dedicated 19 November 1464, and one wing of the cloister, as well as the glass for the windows, the bell, and two silver chalices, were paid for by Thomas, earl of Kildare and his wife, Joan, who was a daughter of James, earl of Desmond. Con O'Sullivan built the bell-tower. Margaret Fitzgibbon, wife of Cu-Uladh O'Daly, the poet, built the larger chapel of Our Lady; John, son of the earl of Desmond, built the first small chapel; while Leogh of Tulach-aoibhinn and Margaret Fitzmaurice ('Dominus Leogh de Tulach aoibhinn et Margareta Mauricii Thomae fusci') built the second small chapel. Donagh son of Brian Dubh or Black Brian ('Donatus Bernardi Nigri') and Anina, daughter of Donagh O'Brien Ara, erected the dormitory; Rory O'Dea, another wing of the cloister; Morianus O'Hickey, who afterwards became a member of the community, the refectory and the northern portion of the wooden stalls of the choir; Donal, son of Ó Dálaigh Fionn, and Sadhbh Daly, his wife, another wing of the cloister; and 'Edmundus Thomae', which might stand for Edmund son of Thomas, Edmund FitzThomas, or Éamonn MacThómais, knight of Glin, and Onorina O'Mahony, his wife, looked after the building of the infirmary. Siobhán, daughter of Ó Faoláin and wife of a certain MacGiobúin Mathghamhnach, added a space of ten feet to the sanctuary and under it erected a tomb for herself. There was probably no very long interval between the building of these different parts, because we know the dates of death of several of the benefactors concerned and they all fall within the years 1478-1503, but it is quite likely that there were intervals of a few years in a number of cases.[203]

At Buttevant, Claregalway, and elsewhere we can see clear evidence of alterations made in the course of time in the size and shape of some of the church windows. Doors and windows were frequently changed, blocked up, or broken through in new places. In fact, now that the walls stand stripped of their plaster, we are often in a better position to learn about those changes than the friars themselves who were living in those houses on the eve of the reformation.

Caution is necessary to distinguish those pre-reformation alterations from subsequent ones made during the different Catholic resurgences of the seventeenth century. We have seen that between the time of the destruction of the friary of Donegal in 1601 and the flight of the earls, Rory O'Donnell, first earl of Tyrconnell, had begun to repair and rebuild it. Pococke in his account of his tour in Ireland in 1752 gives a brief description of the ruins and refers to two narrow passages, one over the other, which seemed to have been places for depositing valuables in time of danger. The measurements were four feet wide, ten feet long, and seven

[202] *AU*, 1469 (III, 224); *ALC*, 1469 (II, 170).

[203] D. Monaeus, 'Tractatus', in *Anal. Hib.*, VI, 63-4; British Museum, MS Add. 4821, ff. 107v-8r.

feet high.[204] If his surmise was correct, one would expect them to date from this period of re-construction. Dromahaire has a strange similar feature in the first floor of the tower, which probably dates from one of the periods of its re-occupation by the friars in the seventeenth century. It has been described as 'a curious drop or well, 8 ft. in depth and 3 ft. 6 in. in breadth across the east end, which was floored over, and suggests a secret hiding place.'[205] It was probably during this same period that the tower at Dromahaire was adapted to the use of bedrooms and living-rooms.

A new dormitory and domestic offices were built at Kilnalahan about the beginning of the seventeenth century by the earl of Clanrickarde, and a short time before that, the church was re-roofed at the expense of the countess.[206] In 1611 Valentine Blake, the mayor of Galway, built the chapel on the south side of the choir for the Galway friars, and it was afterwards converted into a sacristy.[207] In 1642 Richard Martin, the mayor of Galway, bestowed £800 to build two chapels, one of them in the Franciscan friary.[208] Some of the friaries have what seem like seventeenth century fireplaces and chimneys. Temporary occupation of some of them as barracks, courthouses, or storerooms, also often involved considerable changes in the internal arrangements, resulting in the obscuring of the original plan.

From a document preserved among the Carew papers at Oxford we learn that complaints were being made in parliament in 1613 that a number of monasteries, etc., some even in the English pale, were being taken over once again by the monks and friars, repaired, and used for mass and preaching. Among the places the complainants had in mind were the Franciscan friaries of Buttevant, Kilconnell, Kilcrea, Muckross, Multyfarnham, Quin, and Timoleague, and since they had information also about similar activities in the towns of Kilkenny and Waterford, it is possible that parts of the old Franciscan buildings in those two places were also being repaired with a view to their re-occupation.[209]

During the early period of the Confederation of Kilkenny when hopes of a Catholic success were still rosy, the friars boldly entered into possession of several of their pre-reformation houses and started to adapt them once more to the needs of a religious community. This even happened in some of the eastern parts of the country. Fr Richard Synnott, who was afterwards killed by the Cromwellians at the taking of Wexford, writing to Fr Luke Wadding in November 1642 tells him that the minister provincial, Fr Anthony Geoghegan, wished him to re-

[204] *Pococke's Tour in Ireland in 1752*, ed. G. T. Stokes, pp. 69-70.

[205] Commissioners of Public Works, 82nd rep. (1913-14), extract, p. 6.

[206] D. Monaeus, 'Tractatus', in *Anal. hib.*, VI, 59.

[207] J. Hardiman, *The History of the Town and County of the Town of Galway* (Dublin, 1820), p. 265.

[208] *Ibid.*

[209] *Cal. S. P. Ire., 611-14*, no. 732, p. 394. One name in the list of monasteries and friaries has been identified as Fore by the editors, but it is practically certain that Multyfarnham was meant.

build the friary at Enniscorthy and that he was already settled down in the place with five other friars.[210]

When hopes of tolerance of the religious orders again bloomed brightly during the reign of King James II, the friars once more began to rebuild and repair. Fr Francis Porter in a book published in Rome in 1690 tells us that for the past two years the Franciscans of Dublin had been rebuilding on their old site and already had erected a fine church and some dormitories.[211] We have also documentary evidence for extensive building and repairs at Athlone and Cashel.

Even the eighteenth century saw changes and additions, as, for instance, at Meelick and Claregalway, where the friars still continued in occupation, with practically no break in continuity. The nineteenth century saw the continuation of the process at such places as Carrick-on-Suir, Ennis, Monasteroris, Multyfarnham, Nenagh, and Roscrea, which continued to be used either as Catholic or as Protestant churches. Even in this twentieth century, and within our own days, Multyfarnham, a church which still continues to be used by the Franciscans as in pre-reformation times, has undergone a considerable change of appearance.

[210] *HMC, Rep. on Franciscan MSS,* pp. 214-15.

[211] F. Porter, *Compendium Annalium Ecclesiasticorum Regni Hiberniae* (Rome, 1690), p. 341.

A SURVEY OF SCEILG MHICHÍL

By Liam de Paor, *Member*

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The Skellig Rocks are situated off the south-west of Ireland, some eight miles to the west of Bolus Head in Co. Kerry. The Little Skellig, which is completely uninhabited, is one of the few breeding-places of the gannet in these islands. Even in calm weather it is difficult to make a landing on this rock. The Great Skellig, lying farther to the west in the Atlantic, is a crag, 44 acres in projected area, rising to a jagged peak 715 feet above sea-level. It is composed chiefly of exposed calcareous grits and shales with thick veins of quartz. The rock is deeply eroded and weathered, being in a very exposed position, but it is almost free from one of the most potent of weathering agents: frost; the variation of temperature is only a few degrees in the course of the year. The chief vegetation is seapink, spongy mats of which cling to the rock-slopes, growing in many parts to a thickness of a foot or more and forming in their lower layers a combustible peat-like substance.

A variety of birds inhabits the rock and breeds there. Among them may be mentioned puffins, herring-gulls, black-backed gulls, Manx shear-waters, stormy petrels, and ravens. A herd of about fifteen goats, derived from a pair introduced some years ago, now roams wild on the cliffs, and rabbits, also presumably a comparatively modern introduction, abound. The bases of the cliffs are much frequented by seals. The seas around the rock are intensively and profitably fished.

Landing is feasible on the Great Skellig at three points (indicated on the sketch-map, fig. 1), depending on the state of the sea. In the early nineteenth century a lighthouse was established on the western bluff of the rock and a rough road was constructed along the cliff face to give access to this from the east landing.

The chief interest of the Great Skellig lies in its early monastic remains which, probably because of their remote and inaccessible situation, are in a remarkably good state of preservation. The foundation of the

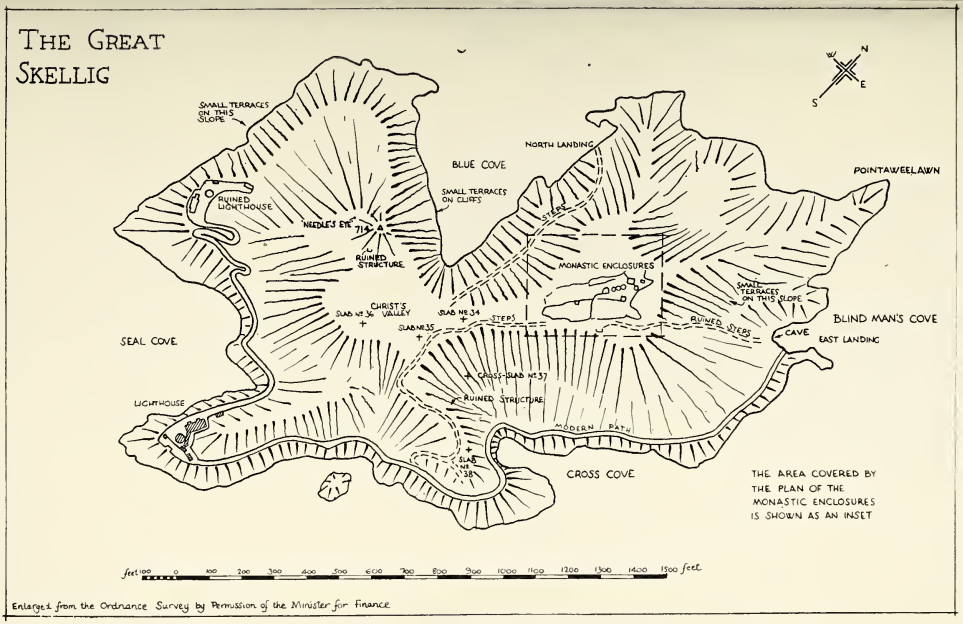
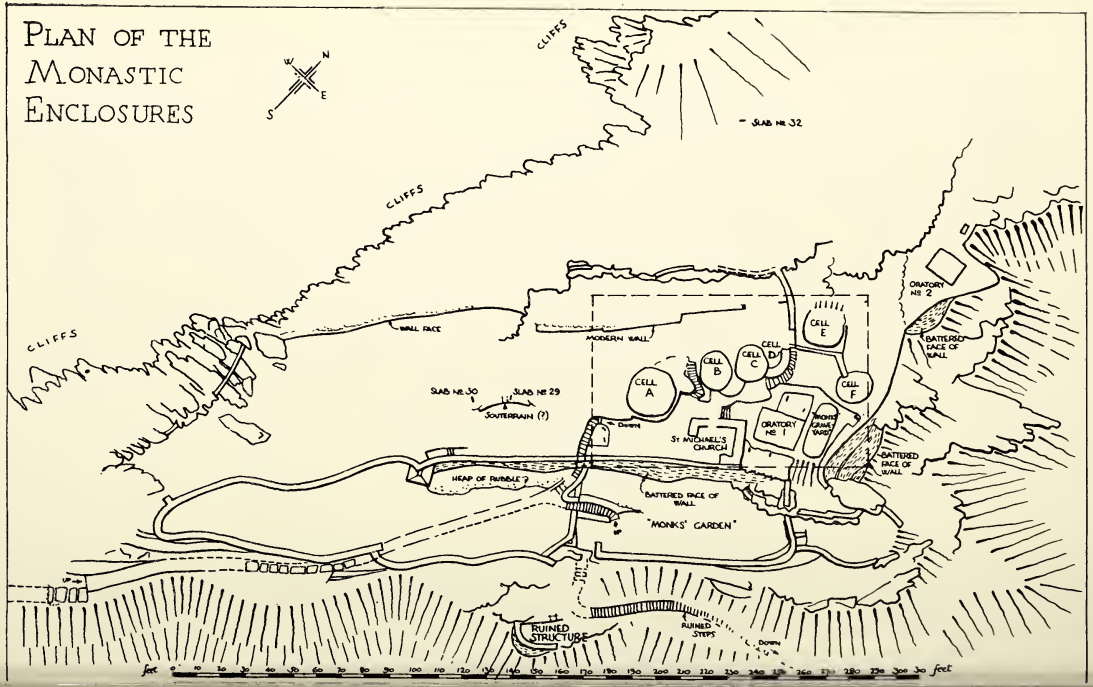

THE GREAT SKELLIG
SMALL TERRACES ON THIS SLOPE
RUINED LIGHTHOUSE
NEEDLE'S EYE
71
RUINED STRUCTURE
BLUE COVE
SMALL TERRACES ON CLIFFS
NORTH LANDING
STEPS
MONASTIC ENCLOSURES
POINTAWEELAWN
SMALL TERRACES ON THIS SLOPE
RUINED STEPS
CAVE
BLIND MAN'S COVE
EAST LANDING
CHRIST'S VALLEY
SLAB No 36
SLAB No 35
SLAB No 34
STEPS
SEAL COVE
CROSS-SLAB No 37
RUINED STRUCTURE
LIGHTHOUSE
MODERN PATH
SLAB No 38
CROSS COVE
THE AREA COVERED BY THE PLAN OF THE MONASTIC ENCLOSURES IS SHOWN AS AN INSET
N
E
S
W
feet 100 0 100 200 300 400 500 600 700 800 900 1000 1100 1200 1300 1400 1500 feet
Enlarged from the Ordnance Survey by Permission of the Minister for Finance

FIG. 1


PLAN OF THE MONASTIC ENCLOSURES
N
E
S
W
CLIFFS
CLIFFS
CLIFFS
SLAB No 32
WALL FACE
MODERN WALL
CELL A
CELL B
CELL C
CELL D
CELL E
CELL F
ORATORY No 2
BATTERED FACE OF WALL
SLAB No 30
SLAB No 29
SOUTERRAIN (?)
DOWN
ST MICHAEL'S CHURCH
ORATORY No 1
MONKS' GRAVE YARD
BATTERED FACE OF WALL
HEAP OF RUBBLE ?
BATTERED FACE OF WALL
"MONKS' GARDEN"
UP
RUINED STRUCTURE
RUINED STEPS
DOWN
feet 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 110 120 130 140 150 160 170 180 190 200 210 220 230 240 250 260 270 280 290 300 310 feet

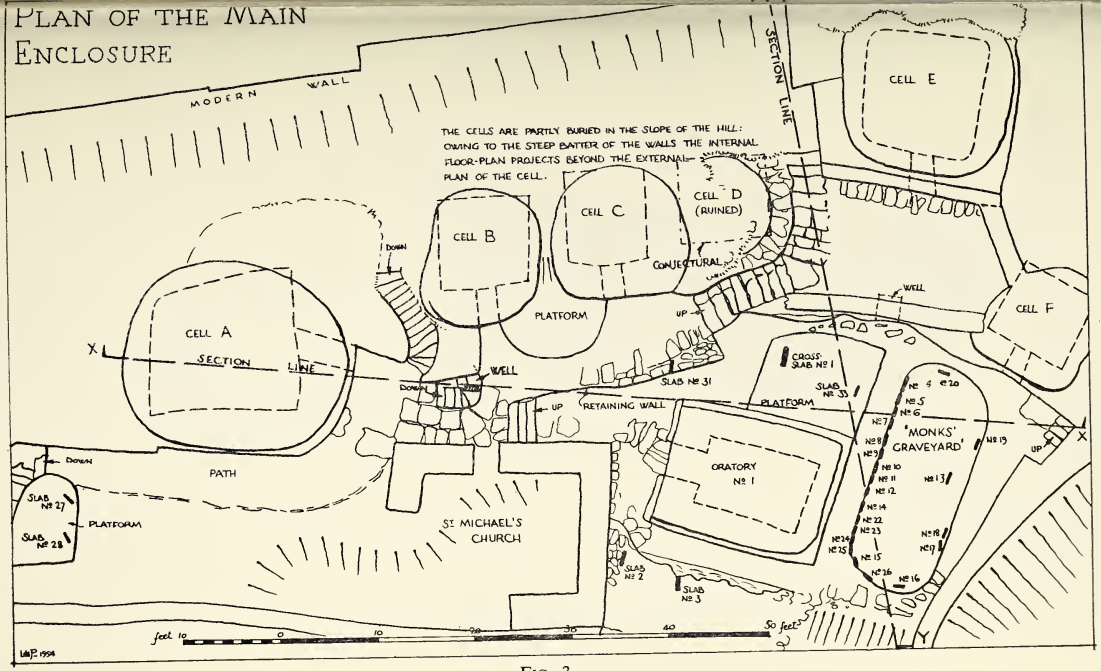
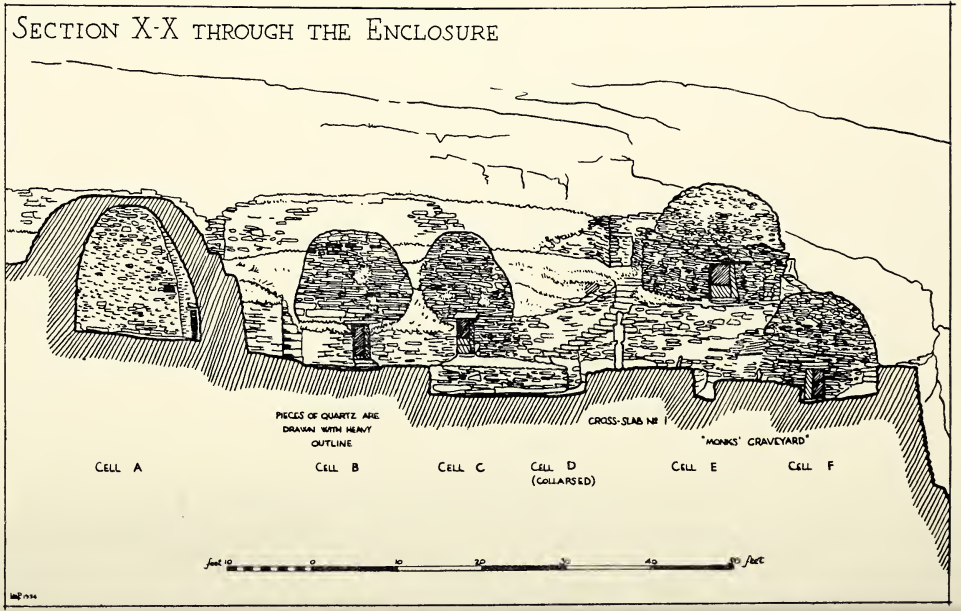

PLAN OF THE MAIN ENCLOSURE
MODERN WALL
SECTION LINE
THE CELLS ARE PARTLY BURIED IN THE SLOPE OF THE HILL: OWING TO THE STEEP BATTER OF THE WALLS THE INTERNAL FLOOR-PLAN PROJECTS BEYOND THE EXTERNAL PLAN OF THE CELL.
CELL E
CELL D (RUINED)
CELL C
CELL B
CELL A
CELL F
CONJECTURAL
PLATFORM
DOWN
UP
WELL
X
SECTION LINE
RETAINING WALL
SLAB Nº 31
CROSS SLAB Nº 1
SLAB Nº 33
PLATFORM
'MONKS' GRAVEYARD
ORATORY Nº 1
ST. MICHAEL'S CHURCH
PATH
SLAB Nº 27
SLAB Nº 28
SLAB Nº 2
SLAB Nº 3
feet 10 0 10 20 30 40 50 feet

FIG. 3


SECTION X-X THROUGH THE ENCLOSURE
PIECES OF QUARTZ ARE DRAWN WITH HEAVY OUTLINE
CROSS-SLAB No 1
"MONKS' GRAVEYARD"
CELL A
CELL B
CELL C
CELL D (COLLAPSED)
CELL E
CELL F
feet 10 0 10 20 30 40 50 feet

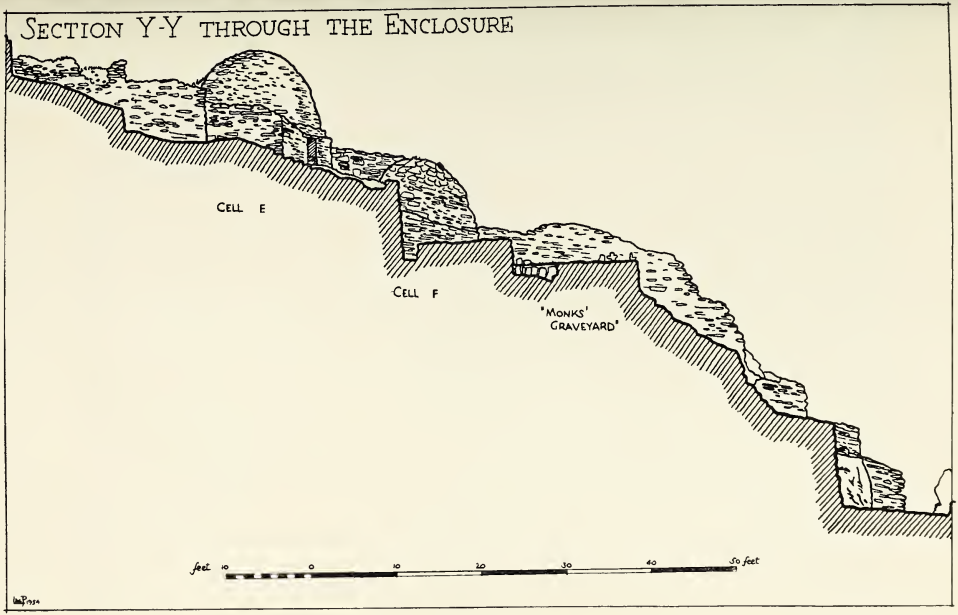

SECTION Y-Y THROUGH THE ENCLOSURE
CELL E
CELL F
'MONKS' GRAVEYARD'
feet 10 0 10 20 30 40 50 feet

FIG. 5

monastery is not recorded. It is attributed in tradition, like many other Kerry churches, to St. Finan, but there is no documentary evidence for this. In the annals there are notices of the deaths of various ecclesiastics on the Skellig. The Annals of Ulster record that Eitgal of Skellig was carried off by the Vikings in 823 and died of hunger and thirst, and the deaths of Blathmhac in 950 and Aed in 1044 are recorded by the Four Masters. A further undocumented tradition says that St. Malachy, during his stay in Munster, spent some time on the rock.

The rock rises to a sharp peak (715 ft.) at its south-west end. This is separated by a saddle ('Christ's Valley') from a ridge running roughly north and south at a height of about 650 feet. The ridge is scarped, falling away in almost sheer cliffs to the sea on the western side. To the east it falls to a sloping shelf at an elevation of 550-600 feet and then slopes steeply down to the sea.

The chief monastic remains, a system of walled enclosures with stone huts and oratories, are on this shelf (fig. 2). Their position is shown on pl. XXXIV. They are reached from the three landing-places by three flights of steps, two of which, from the north-west and the south-east respectively, meet at the saddle and are continued as a single flight up to the ridge. The third, now in ruins, zig-zags up the very steep slope from the east landing.

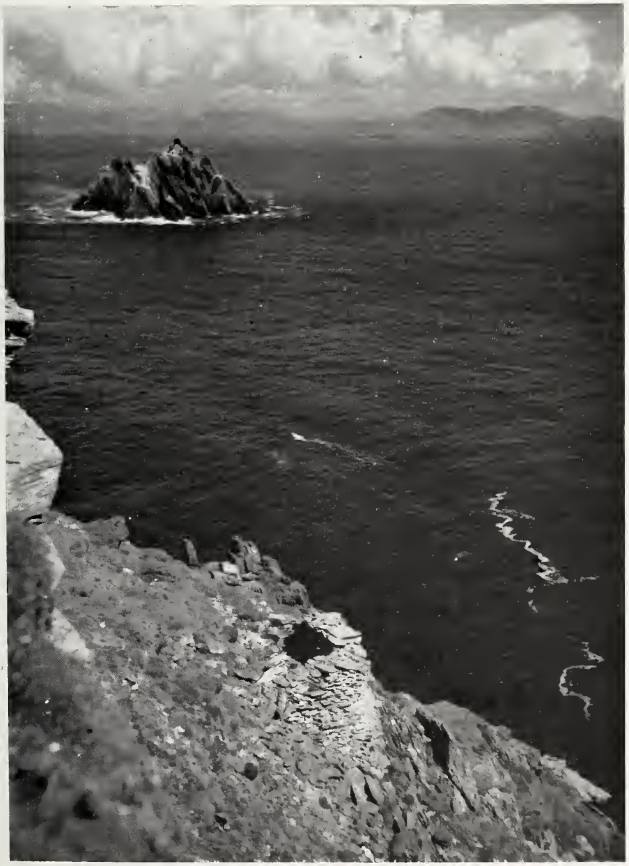
The approach from the saddle leads to a long narrow terrace, enclosed by a dry-built cashel wall. The north-eastern end of this terrace, which is at a lower level and is divided off by a partition wall, retains some rather peaty soil and could have been used for cultivation. It is locally called the 'Monks' Garden'. The main terrace is crossed by a path consisting of flags laid to form a footway with a kerb of slabs on either side. This leads to the cashel wall at the back of the terrace, through which a doorway and a flight of steps give access to another, larger, enclosure at a higher level, shown on pl. XXXVIII. This enclosure in turn is terraced and sub-divided and its lowest level, which communicates directly with the steps, is the main monastic area (fig. 3).

Here there are six beehive stone cells, one of which has collapsed, a boat-shaped oratory, a later church (which is probably the 'St. Michael's Church' referred to by Giraldus Cambrensis in the 12th century in his *Topographia Hiberniae*), raised artificial platforms consisting of kerbs of slabs retaining earth and rubble filling, and a number of roughly-shaped or incised crosses and slabs. At the north-eastern end of the rock-shelf a second smaller oratory stands above cliffs which fall away to the east landing. There are traces of modern work here and there, including the stretch of modern wall shown on the general plan, fig. 2, which date probably from the period of construction of the light-house when the workers inhabited the monastery for a while.

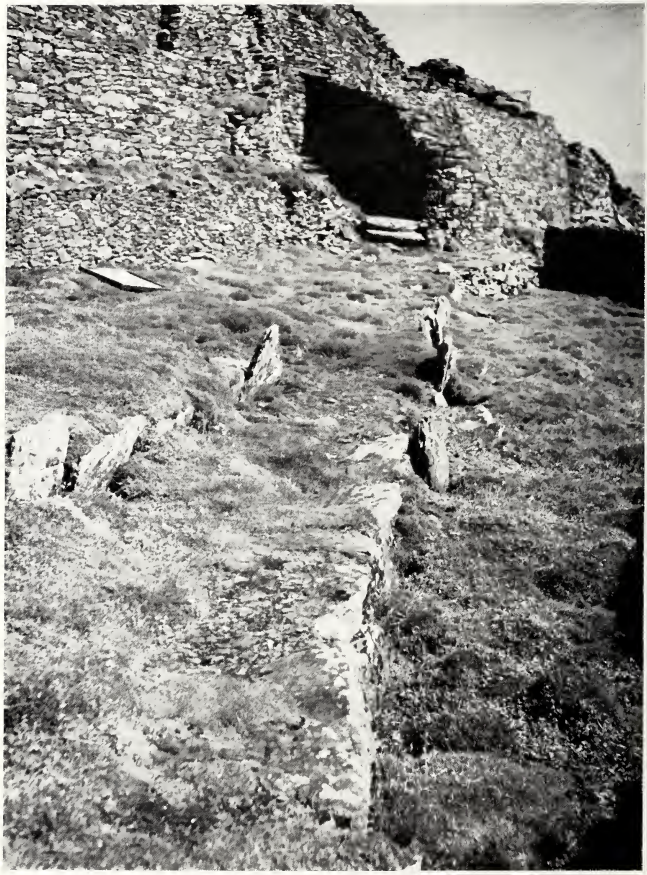
The cells and oratories are all dry-built of corbel construction, and have doorways with inclined jambs and double lintels. The cells are quadrangular on internal floor-plan but the walls assume a circular plan as

Sceilg Mhichíl: general view of the cells from the peak

Sceilg Mhichíl: Christ's Valley, and the steps from the south landing



Sceilg Mhichíl: the ruined structure below the "Monks' Garden"



Sceilg Mhichíl: the lower enclosure

Sceilg Mhichíl: the main enclosure

Sceilg Mhichíl: cell A

Sceilg Mhichíl: cell C

Sceilg Mhichíl: cell A. Roof of cell B in foreground

a

b

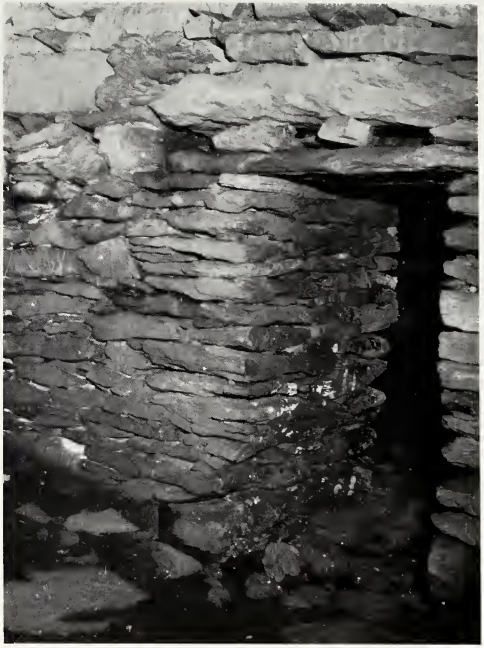
Sceilg Mhichíl: (*a*) Roof of cell E. (*b*) Oratory no. 2

a

b

Sceilg Mhichíl: (*a*) Doorway of cell B. (*b*) Cell A, interior, showing ambries

a



b

Sceilg Mhichíl: (*a*) Oratory no. I, interior, showing roof-structure. (*b*) Cell F, interior

a

b

Sceilg Mhichíl: (*a*) Cross-slab no. 1. (*b*) Slab no. 3

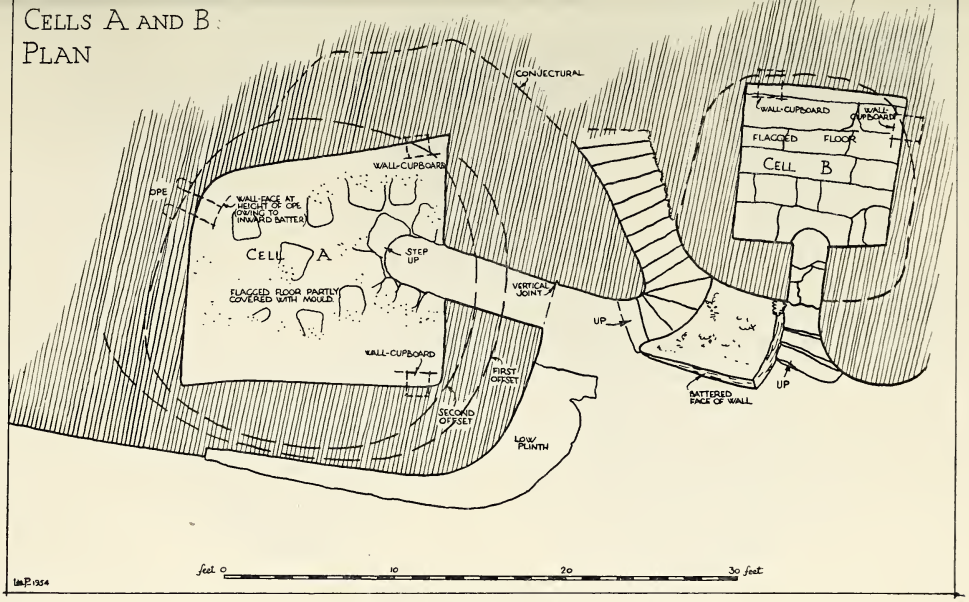
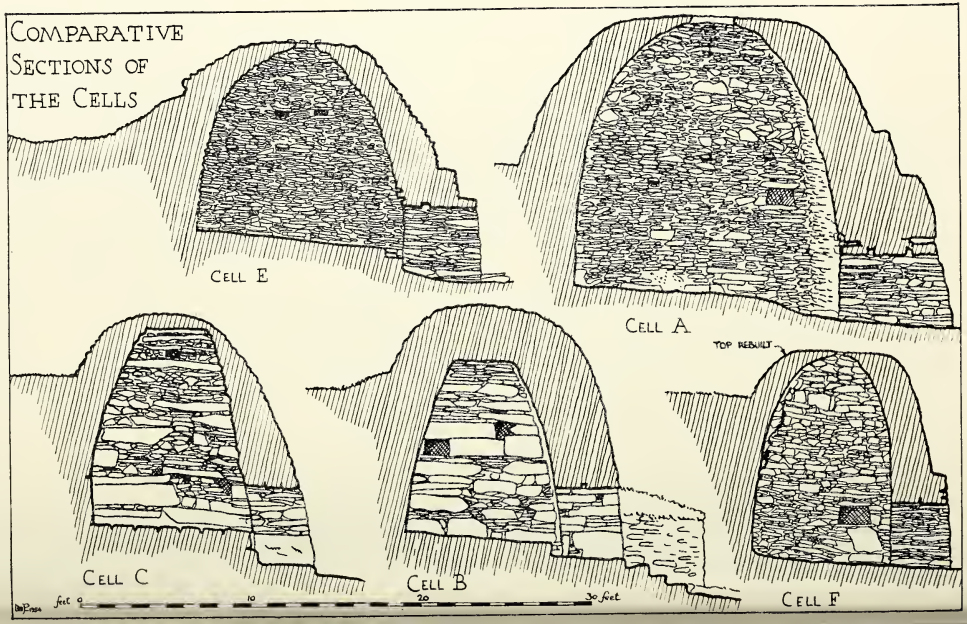

CELLS A AND B:
PLAN
CONJECTURAL
WALL-CUPBOARD
WALL-CUPBOARD
FLAGGED FLOOR
CELL B
WALL-CUPBOARD
WALL-FACE AT HEIGHT OF OPE (OWING TO INWARD BATTER)
OPE
CELL A
STEP UP
FLAGGED FLOOR PARTLY COVERED WITH MOULD
VERTICAL JOINT
UP
WALL-CUPBOARD
FIRST OFFSET
SECOND OFFSET
LOW PLINTH
BATTERED FACE OF WALL
UP
feet 0
10
20
30 feet
L.W.P. 1954

FIG. 6


COMPARATIVE SECTIONS OF THE CELLS
CELL E
CELL A
TOP REBUILT
CELL C
CELL B
CELL F
feet 0
10
20
30 feet

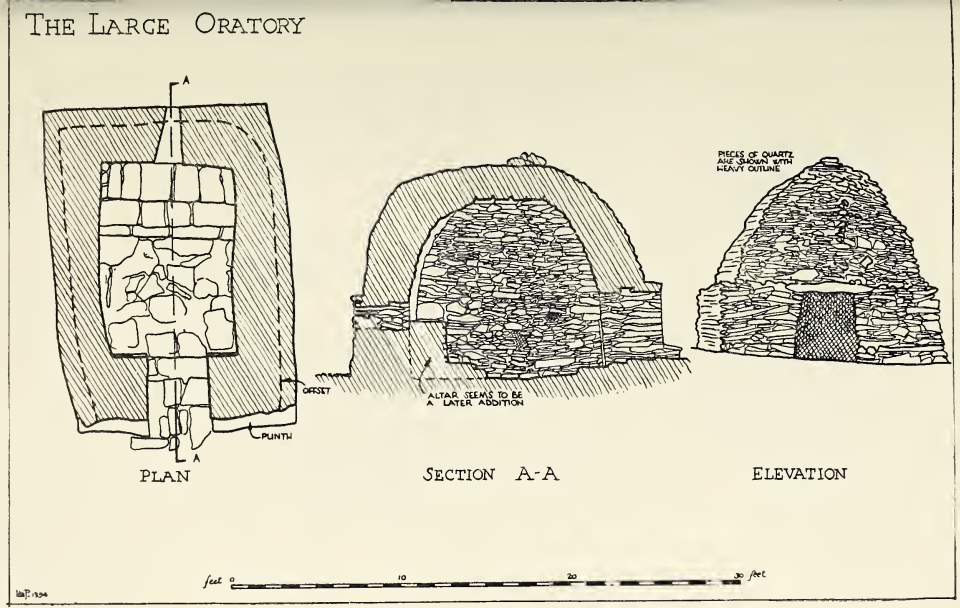
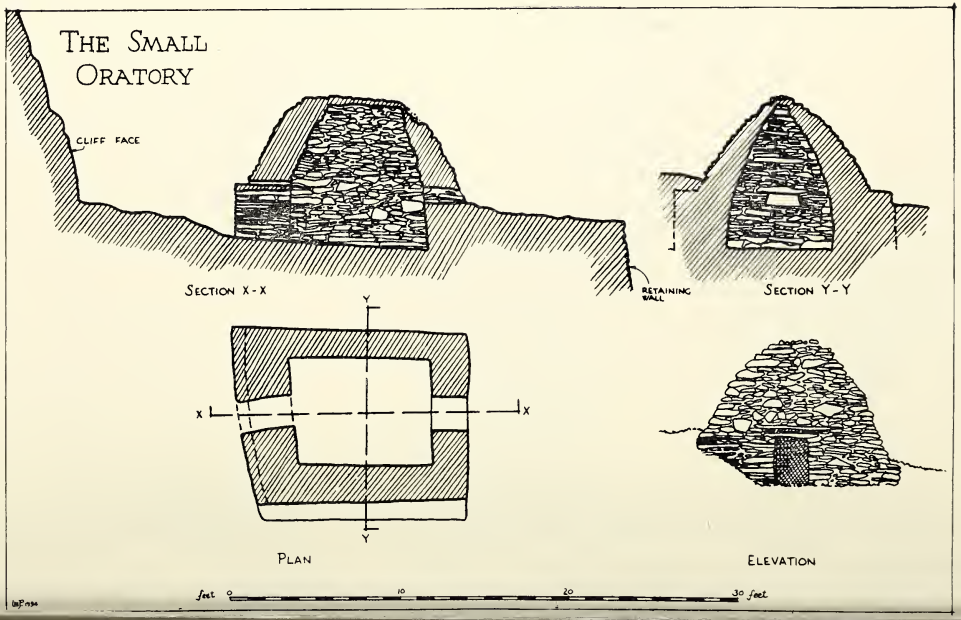

THE LARGE ORATORY
A
A
OFFSET
PLINTH
PLAN
ALTAR SEEMS TO BE A LATER ADDITION
SECTION A-A
PIECES OF QUARTZ ARE SHOWN WITH HEAVY OUTLINE
ELEVATION
feet 0
10
20
30 feet

FIG. 8


THE SMALL ORATORY
CLIFF FACE
SECTION X-X
RETAINING WALL
SECTION Y-Y
Y
X
X
Y
PLAN
ELEVATION
feet 0
10
20
30 feet

they rise (this shape makes for stability in a corbelled structure). Cells B, C, F, and, probably, D, were similar in size and structure, being small beehives of rather tall proportions, constructed of roughly-squared blocks and large random rubble to give a remarkably smoothly-curving and trim surface on the interior faces of the walls, and floored with roughly squared flags. Cell C, through which water drains from the back, has a double floor. Small ambries or cupboards are recessed in the cell walls on the interior, in general to a depth of about 18″. These four cells are probably contemporary and their position would suggest that they were the nucleus of the monastery.

Cells A and E are somewhat different in type. They are larger than the four which have just been described and are more squat in proportion. They are constructed of small rough stones and lack the massive squared blocks which are a feature of the smaller cells. The masonry is again remarkably neatly and smoothly finished. On the exterior as well as the interior the ground-plan is roughly quadrangular, and the dome of the beehive springs from offsets. Both have systems of projecting corbels on the interior and exterior faces of the walls, arranged in courses and staggered from course to course. It has been suggested that these projections were used on the interior as hooks for book-satchels. However, some of the projecting stones are too high to have served this purpose and it is more likely that their function was constructional. Cell E has four small recesses arranged in opposed pairs at a height of about 7′ 6″ on the interior faces of the walls, presumably for the reception of a pair of beams. The crown of the beehive in both cells, is pierced with an eye or vent. Wall-cupboards (pl. XLIII, *b*), similar to those in the smaller cells, again occur. The plans and sections, figs. 6 and 7, illustrate the structure of the cells.

The different character of cells A and E suggests that they may be of different date from the other cells and their position as outliers of the group that they may be later.

The oratories, one of which is larger than the other, resemble in structure cells A and E. They are simple boat-shaped oratories (pl. XLII, *b*) of the Gallarus type but more roughly constructed than Gallarus. The larger oratory has a Greek or Latin cross picked out in pieces of white quartz on the gable over the doorway. This feature is repeated on cell A.

There are numerous slabs, some roughly carved to the shape of a cross, others incised with cross or cross-in-circle designs. The largest, no. 1, is a slab 7′ 0″ high, shaped to suggest a cross and incised on the south-west face with a Latin cross the shaft of which expands to the base. Under the arms are two square panels the diagonals of which have been shown as incised lines.[1] A similar incised pattern occurs on no. 2. Slab

[1]F. Henry describes this slab in 'Three Engraved slabs in the neighbourhood of Waterville (Kerry) and the Cross on Skellig Michael', *J.R.S.A.I.*, lxxviii (1948), 176.

no. 8 has a ringed cross incised on its north-east face and a plain Latin cross on its south-west face. Roughly cross-shaped slabs also occur beyond the confines of the enclosure; one near the crest of the ridge above the monastery, others in Christ's Valley. Dr. Françoise Henry has drawn my attention to a large Latin cross carved in the round from the natural rock approximately in the position shown on the sketch-map (fig. 1) where it is marked as no. 37.

Below the entrance to the lower enclosure there are fragmentary remains (pl. XXXVI) of a clochán or similar building constructed on the steep slope. A small square recess, like those in the cells, had been made in the rock face which formed the north-west wall or base of the wall of this structure.

The feature marked as a souterrain on the general plan (fig. 2) is a subterranean structure entered through a small square opening (in the retaining wall shown on the plan) from which a narrow passage leads off to the left. The passage had become blocked with silt and rubble and could not be explored for more than a few feet.

The precipitous way up to the west peak is said to have been used by pilgrims to the rock, and tradition says that the monks took refuge here during Viking raids. There are, at any rate, fairly well-defined stretches of a path winding up around the peak, and a rock-chimney ('The Eye of a Needle') which must be negotiated on the way, has had hand- and foot-grips cut in it. There are faint and somewhat doubtful traces of construction at one or two points along the way, and at one place the ruined remains of a small stone structure, perched on a ledge about half-way up the peak.

In Christ's Valley detritus from the peak has formed a loose deposit in a pocket on the saddle. An area of this had been enclosed by a low retaining wall formed of slabs set on edge. It is said to have been used as a graveyard. The line of the enclosure can be seen in the photograph of Christ's Valley taken from the peak (pl. XXXV). There are two small crosses in the enclosure.

Elsewhere on the rock numerous short stretches of retaining wall have been constructed across ledges and gullies on the precipitous slopes to hold small pockets of earth which may have been used for cultivation. They are most numerous on the western slope of the peak, on the eastern slope above Christ's Valley, and on the steep rock-face above the east landing.

Accounts of the rock and notices of its history will be found in C. Smith, *The Ancient and Present State of the County of Kerry* (1756); Dunraven, *Notes on Irish Architecture*, i, 26-36; in *J.R.S.A.I.*, xxvii, 269 and 308-15, xxii, 279-84, lxxii, 176. Dr Henry, who has published brief accounts of the rock in *Irish Art in the Early Christian Period*, 21ff. and in the *Co. Louth Archaeological Journal*, xi, Part 4 (1948), 296-97 ('Early Irish Monasteries, Boat-shaped Oratories and Beehive Huts'), is preparing

a paper on beehive huts and similar structures in Kerry in which there will be a full discussion of the antiquities on the Skellig. The numeration of the slabs, cells, etc., in the survey has been arrived at after consultation with her, and her observations have been valuable in preparing this report.

The survey of the Skellig was greatly facilitated by the officers of the Irish Lights stationed on the Rock and acknowledgement is due to them for rendering assistance in their free time. Acknowledgement is also due to the Commissioners of Irish Lights who provided accommodation and co-operated in many ways.

GRENDEL'S *GEIS*

By Margaret W. Pepperdene

THOSE lines which are part of the poet's account of Grendel's ravages at Heorot are among the most troublesome in *Beowulf*:

> nō hē þone gifstōl grētan mōste,
> māþðum for Metode, nē his myne wisse.[1]

Because of the difficulty of clarifying the ambiguous references in their present context, many scholars have concluded that the lines are merely an "inept interpolation" and could be eliminated without detriment to the narrative.[2] Wrenn, the most recent editor of *Beowulf*, finds the passage objectionable in its present context "because of the difficulty in its interpretation and its apparent breach of the stylistic *continuum* between 11. 167-170."[3] He believes that the lines were misplaced through a scribal error and originally had formed a part of the poet's remarks about Cain following line 110. His reasons for making this textual emendation are that the lines as they appear "do not fit in any kind of sense"; that the *wræc micel*, attributed to Hrothgar in line 170, refers to Grendel's occupation of Heorot and not, as it seems, to his being unable to approach the throne; and that lines 168-169, if shifted to become part of the statement about Cain's progeny, make "excellent sense". To accord with their new position in the text, Wrenn construes the lines:

> He could not draw near to (God's) throne, that
> precious thing (*māþðum*) in the Creator's presence,
> nor did he feel His love (*nē his myne wisse*).

Wrenn's theory is feasible; but any alteration of the text is certainly undesirable if these lines can be rendered meaningful in their present context.

As they stand in the text, lines 168-169 may be translated:

> He (Grendel) might not approach the throne,
> treasure because of God, nor did he know
> His purpose.

If *gifstōl* is understood to be Hrothgar's throne, which in context seems most likely, the lines could mean that Grendel was prevented, presumably by God, from approaching this throne. While the monster does not know why he is forbidden to approach the throne, the implication is that should he do so, he would bring destruction upon himself.

[1]Fr Klaeber, ed. *Beowulf* (New York, 1950), 11. 168-69.

[2]Klaeber summarizes early scholarship on this subject. *Ibid.*, pp. 134-135.

[3]C. L. Wrenn, ed. *Beowulf* (London, 1953), p. 68.

The situation thus presented by these lines in their present context and so construed closely resembles the custom of tabu, or *geis* (pl. *geasa*), found in the early Celtic tales which must have been familiar to the poet of *Beowulf*. The Celtic *geis* was a prohibition forbidding a person to do, or enjoining him to do, certain things. In the oldest Irish tales the meaning of *geis* seems to have been limited to an injunction against doing a specific thing, "a rule of prohibition under penalty of ill luck for its infraction . . .",[4] or "an absolute prohibition from doing certain things."[5] Cuchulainn, the hero of the Ulster cycle, was under many *geasa*, among them not to go to a cooking-hearth and consume the food prepared there, and never to eat the flesh of a dog. Infraction of these prohibitions brought about his death.[6] The ancient tale of Conaire, *The Destruction of Da Derga's Hostel*, has *geis* as its central motive, and Conaire, caught up in a mesh of conflicting *geasa*, which he violates one after the other, is finally doomed.[7] There were, too, many instances of *geasa* connected with sacred places and objects, which served to protect the sanctity of kingship. Tara, the seat of the high kings of Ireland and the symbol of the sacred authority of kingship, was a place steeped in *geasa*. No hero's arms could be brought into Tara after sunset;[8] no one could go to Tara to banquet after sunset;[9] no fire could be kindled in Ireland during the special feast of Tara;[10] and no king could assume the sovereignty of Ireland at Tara until he first wore the *nasc niadh* (champion's chain) around his neck.[11] In the poem, "The Beheading of John the Baptist by Mog Ruith," of a later date than the sagas but making similar use of *geis* as a protection to the sanctity of rightful kingship, is was *geis* for Herod to allow anyone to sit in his chair.[12] The nature of *geis* took many forms in early Irish literature; and in the older tales the injunction clearly came from the supernatural force, Fate or God, who controlled the destinies of the people so enjoined and served as virtually the only limitation placed upon the otherwise invincible heroes of these tales. The evidence of *geis* as a singular feature of the old heroic life is so extensive in the Irish sagas, laws and historical tracts that it may be considered a characteristic element of early Irish literature.[13]

[4]Robert Atkinson, ed., *The Book of Leinster* (Dublin, 1880), "Preface", p. 27, col. 2.

[5]Myles Dillon, *Early Irish Literature* (Chicago, 1948), p. xv.

[6]Whitley Stokes, ed. and trans., "Cuchulainn's Death," *Revue Celtique*, III (1877), 175-185.

[7]Whitley Stokes, ed. and trans., "The Destruction of Da Derga's Hostel," *Revue Celtique*, XXII (1901), 165-215.

[8]T. O'Mahony and A. G. Richey, eds., "The Book of Aicill" in *Ancient Laws of Ireland* (Dublin, 1873), III, 82-83. The arms already inside the sacred place partook of its sanctity and were innocuous.

[9]"Slige Dala", 11. 57-58, *The Metrical Dindsenchas*, ed. and trans. E. Gwynn (Todd Lecture Series, Vol. X), Pt. iii, pp. 280-281.

[10]Only St Patrick successfully broke this *geis* by kindling the Easter fire. Whitley Stokes, ed., *Tripartite Life* (Rolls Series, 1887), I, 41-43, II, 278-279.

[11]Geoffrey Keating, *The History of Ireland*, ed. and trans. David Comyn and Patrick Dineen (London, 1902-14), II, 405.

[12]Ed. and trans. Annie M. Scarre, *Eriu*, IV (1910), 174-181.

[13]For a detailed account of *geis* and its widespread appearance in Irish lore, as well as its later incorporation as a motive in other literature, see John Revell Reinhard, *The Survival of Geis in Medieval Romance* (Halle, 1933).

The Anglo-Saxons were recipients of the wealth of native Irish custom, myth and story through the medium of the Irish Christian missionaries who evangelized Northumbria and Mercia in the seventh century.[14] This Celtic lore, together with the Germanic traditions of his own people, provided the *Beowulf*-poet with a literary heritage rich in imaginative material and unique in its composite nature. In recent years serious consideration has been given to the probability that the Grendel episode, including Beowulf's struggle with both monsters as well as the tradition of Grendel's descent from Cain, derived from Irish sources.[15] Although it is not necessary to seek any specific origin for the use in *Beowulf* of so common a primitive custom as tabu, the meaning of the lines can be enriched by recognizing the nature and prevalence of the custom of *geis* in the early Irish lore, which formed part of the literary heritage of the *Beowulf*-poet and was available to him for appropriation.

In lines 168-169 the poet has caught up all the elements found in the early Celtic formula for *geis*; that is, the injunction from God or Providence; the limitation of the powers of an otherwise invincible "hero"; the implied destruction of the "hero" should the *geis* be violated; and the use of *geis*, commonly found in Irish literature, as a protection to the sanctity of kingship, which here is symbolized by Heorot's throne. Without straining the syntax of the passage, these lines may be interpreted to mean that a tabu or *geis* has been imposed upon Grendel by God, forbidding him to approach the throne of Hrothgar, treasured by the Danes since that time when He had sent Scyld to be their king. With this construction, not only do these lines make excellent sense in themselves, but considered in their context they become an integral part of the whole passage, from line 86, and reveal the artistry with which the poet redirects the narrative from the ravages of Grendel to the anticipation of Beowulf's coming.

Beginning at line 86, the poet has told in some detail of the mirth at Heorot that initially aroused the antagonism of the monster, banished from human society because of his descent from Cain; of Grendel's first attacks on Heorot and the sufferings and despair of the Danes during the twelve years of Grendel's ravages; and of the sorrow of Hrothgar, stricken by the loss of his loyal thanes and by the virtual loss of his kingly power. The predominant note throughout this account is one of despair: the Danes have bowed to the tyranny of Grendel, have given up hope that relief will come to them, and in their despondency, many

[14]F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1943), pp. 118-128, 179-180.

[15]Gerard Murphy, *Duanaire Finn*, Part III (Dublin, 1953), pp. 184-188, publishes for the first time some of the findings of the late Prof. von Sydow in the Celtic origins of the Grendel story. See also Charles Donahue, "Grendel and the Clanna Cainn," *Journal of Celtic Studies*, I (1950), 167-175. Prof. James Carney's book on early Irish literature, soon to be published by the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, devotes a chapter to *Beowulf* and the *Táin bó Fráich*, which offers further evidence of an Irish source for the Grendel episode.

of them will turn again to sacrifice at their pagan altars.[16] Their despair is only to be expected, for, the poet observes, they have resigned themselves to Grendel's usurpation of Heorot and his rule over them:

> Swā rīxode ond wið rihte wan,
> āna wið eallum, oð þæt īdel stōd
> hūsa sēlest.[17]

In detailing the tragedies that have struck Hrothgar's kingdom and in creating this sombre atmosphere, the poet's design is to prepare for the coming of Beowulf, which he does with an intricate artistry rarely attributed to him. By emphasizing the gloom and despair of the Danes the poet creates a foil for the grandeur of Beowulf, who will gain greater stature against such a dismal background and whose deeds under such hopeless conditions will appear more heroic. However, in another and more subtle way the poet uses this passage to anticipate the arrival of Beowulf as the instrument of Providence, the role attributed to him by Hrothgar when he learns of Beowulf's presence at Heorot.[18] Even as the poet reports the desolation of the Danes and tells of Grendel's usurpation of Hrothgar's rule, he makes clear that even though the Danes are not aware of it, Providence has not abandoned them to Grendel. If the lines quoted above crystallize the hopeless plight of the Danes, they also have another important function in the poem. They reveal at once the terrible extent of Grendel's power and, in their anticipation of lines 168-169, where Grendel is denied the throne itself, give reason to the limitation placed on that power by Providence. Had Grendel been allowed complete power over the Danes—and the poet's account indicates that such was their belief—their situation would have been hopeless indeed, for it would have boded God's true abandonment of these people whom He had favoured by sending them Scyld. The goodness of Providence would have been denied, and Beowulf would have been unconvincing as the deliverer sent by God to save the Danish people.

But the poet shows that God had not abandoned the Danes during their twelve years of tribulation. Instead, by the control which He alone could exert over Grendel, He had protected the sanctity of their kingship until Beowulf would come and set them free again. Grendel might ravage Heorot, slaughter the warriors, and inhabit the hall during the swart nights, but this monster has one limitation imposed by God—he cannot approach the throne of Hrothgar, the symbol of the king's lawful and God-given right to rule his people. Grendel does not know why such a prohibition has been placed upon him, but he does know that the same Eternal Lord who had committed him to the race of Cain also had forbidden him under threat of his destruction to despoil the throne of the kingdom he had in his power. His fear of death at the hands of One

[16]L. 175 ff.
[17]Lines 144-146.
[18]Lines 381-384.

more powerful than he assured his obedience to that interdict.[19] The throne is more than the symbol of the limitation of Grendel's power, for the poet has it signify, too, the rightful authority of Hrothgar which can never be attained through the power of might. Untouched, it seems to promise that the Danes, despite their fears, will not be utterly vanquished by Grendel and turns despair for them into anticipation of their ultimate victory through the designs of Providence, Who will send Beowulf now, as He formerly sent Scyld, to them in their time of desolation.

The contribution which lines 168-169, interpreted as a *geis* upon Grendel, make to the structural unity of the whole passage, lines 86-170, is sufficient evidence to remove consideration of these lines as interpolations. Considering the purpose of the whole passage as a preparation for the coming of Beowulf, neither is there a breach of stylistic *continuum* between lines 167-170; for the poet, after subtly revealing the secret design of Providence, continues to dwell on the tragedy of the Danes by saying that all aspects of Grendel's reign of terror caused misery to Hrothgar, "*þæt wæs wræc micel / wine Scyldinga.*" The king and his advisors, unware of the *geis* upon Grendel and the watchfulness of Providence which it signified, knew of no course of action which would avert further horrors at Heorot; the people, struck with terror and convinced that God had deserted them, prayed to their pagan gods for deliverance. The tone of despair which permeated the preceding account of Grendel's ravages is re-emphasized, and the poet turns to tell of Beowulf's departure for Hrothgar's court.

[19]Grendel's lack of courage is evidenced in his reaction to Beowulf, 1. 753 ff.

THE HOLY WELLS OF CO. LIMERICK

By Caoimhín Ó Danachair, *Member*

BELIEFS and practices associated with holy wells are known from very many parts of the world; they form an important branch of European folk tradition and the literature dealing with the subject is very extensive. As yet, no general study of the holy wells of Ireland has appeared, which is not surprising, as so little has been done in the form of the local or regional surveys which are a necessary preliminary to any general treatment of the subject. This paper on the wells of Co. Limerick is presented mainly as a contribution towards a general study; it is also advanced in the hope that a description of the wells of one particular area may, in spite of its limitations, be of some general interest.

The treatment of the subject, in this paper, is confined to a factual report, and no attempt is made to discuss the origin and development of the cult of springs and fountains, or to speculate on the question of the survival of elements of pre-Christian religion in the beliefs and customs associated with Irish holy wells. For this present paper, a holy well may be defined as a well or spring at which prayers and ceremonies of a Christian religious nature have been performed in recent times.

Before proceeding to a detailed list of the wells, it may be useful to make some general observations on the practices and traditions which appertain to them.

Devotional Practices

The prayers said at the wells are the conventional Catholic prayers —the *Pater, Ave, Gloria, Credo,* &c., usually in the form of recitals of the Rosary. In general, these are said while making the " rounds ", that is while walking around the well—there is, in most cases where the devotion survives, a beaten path around the well, varying in size according to the nature of the ground, but usually in the neighbourhood of fifteen yards in diameter. Around this path the pilgrim walks, praying in silence, until the specified number of rounds and prayers has been completed. The number of prayers and rounds varies according to the usage of the particular well, or the fervour of the individual pilgrim. A typical visit to a well might consist of three rounds during each of which one Rosary is recited. In most cases the pilgrim kneels beside the well at the beginning and end of each round and says some prayers, which often include a prayer to the patron of the well. At some wells the pilgrims kneel and pray at a number of other points, usually called *stations*

and marked by large stones, which may be natural rocks or stones set up for the purpose. In a few places these stones are "marking-stones", at which the pilgrim takes a pebble in his hand and inscribes a cross on the stone. This is done at each round, and "marking-stones" may be seen on which the constant repetition of this practice has cut deep crosses. The prayers are usually counted on a rosary beads or the fingers, and the tally of the rounds kept mentally, although, at a few of the wells, the rounds are reckoned by taking a number of little pebbles, corresponding to the number of rounds, in the hand and throwing one away as each round is completed.

In making the rounds the pilgrim always walks to the right, that is, clockwise. There is a tradition that a round made *tuathal* (anti-clockwise) will bring evil results, and that, in the past, rounds were made in this way to call down a curse on an enemy; no definite instance of this having been done has, however, come to the notice of the writer.

Rounds are made to obtain spiritual and temporal favours, or as thanksgiving for favours granted. They may be made on behalf of another person—this was often done for exiles or for people who were too feeble to visit the well. There is a tradition that rounds at wells were enjoined as canonical penances.

Use of the Water

The drinking of water from the well is part of the ritual. This is usually done by filling a drinking vessel and taking three sips of the water in the name of the Father, of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Cups and other drinking vessels are to be found at most wells where devotions are still carried out, and the older custom was that the pilgrim, having drunk, emptied out the water remaining in the cup, refilled it with fresh water and placed the full cup beside the well. The next visitor emptied the cup, refilled it with fresh water, drank, emptied out the dregs, refilled the cup and replaced it beside the well.

When a well was visited to obtain the cure of an illness or bodily ailment, the afflicted part of the body was bathed with water from the well. In the case of the exposed parts of the body—the head, hands or feet—this was done at the well, and some wells have a separate basin for this purpose; where such a basin was not provided the pilgrim dipped up some water in a container and used it for bathing. In the case of other parts of the body a quantity of the water was taken home and used privately. Water was also taken for the use of those who were too feeble to come in person. In some cases moss or other growths from about the well were taken and applied to the afflicted parts of the body. Many wells were famed for the cure of particuar ailments.

Water taken directly from holy wells was seldom used for any ordinary domestic purpose, but in many places the water flowing out of the well was led into a pool or basin from which it might be taken for domestic use or at which cattle were allowed to drink.

Offerings

The custom of leaving a token or offering at the well still survives at many of those which are still visited. The commonest form of offering was a piece of cloth or ribbon which was tied to a tree or bush near the well; this may still be seen sometimes. Often the cloth was a piece of a garment worn by the pilgrim and torn off specially for the occasion. Sometimes it was the piece of cloth which had been used to bathe afflicted eyes or limbs. But almost any small personal belonging serves as an offering; in 1954 the writer of the paper saw, at wells in the county, buttons, pins, combs, pocket-knives, keys, key-rings, nail-files, men's collars and ties, a safety razor and an army water-bottle. Cups and other drinking vessels are often left by pilgrims, while flowers and lighted candles are left at some wells, especially at times of special devotion. In recent times a common form of offering is a small religious object, such as a medal, a rosary beads, a little statue or picture. Several wells have large statues or pictures of the patron, donated by individuals or groups. Small coins form another usual offering, sometimes left lying at the well (and, it is to be feared, later removed by small boys). Collection boxes may be seen at some wells; the money collected in them is used for the upkeep of the well. An old custom still observed at a few of the wells is that on the pattern day or day of special devotion some person, usually an old woman, sits beside the well and hands cups of water to the pilgrims, receiving a copper or two for this service and for having carried out the necessary cleaning and embellishment of the well in preparation for the feast day. She also tells strangers the proper ritual to be observed at the well.

Patterns

The custom of holding a " pattern " or a day of special devotion at the well on the feast day of the patron saint was, according to tradition or surviving usage, observed at fifty-two wells in the county. At a number of them the saint's day was regarded as the right and proper day for making a visit to the well, and thus many people came and made the rounds. But in other places the day was kept as a public holiday when no work was done, and secular pastimes were added to devotional exercises at the well. There were sports, games, dancing, stalls and sideshows and all the fun of the fair, which often attracted a large number of persons whose sole object was amusement and not devotion. This, on occasion, led to drunkenness and faction fighting, and because of these abuses several patterns were suppressed during the nineteenth century by the Catholic clergy.[1] At the present time only about twenty wells continue to be visited on the patron's day and popular gatherings are held only at four or five.

[1]See, for instance, the condemnation of patterns in the Diocese of Cashel and Emly (to which some of the parishes of Co. Limerick belong) by the Archbishop, Dr. Bray, dated 17th May, 1797, in *Statuta Synodalia pro unitis Diocoesibus Cassel. et Imelac.*, 1813, 72 and 230-236.

The feast of the Assumption (15th August) and of St. Patrick (17th March) were especially popular, as " pattern " days, at wells dedicated to Our Lady or St. Patrick. Wells so dedicated were within reach of all parts of the county, and both days are church holidays. Other patterns were local affairs, even though people might come to them from as far away as thirty miles before the days of the motor car.

There is no tradition of a pattern at any well dedicated to the King of Sunday; at these wells all Sundays were days of devotion.

Situation

Very many of the wells are situated close to churches or church ruins; three of them, at Ballylanders, Killeedy and Inch Saint Lawrence are in graveyards. Three are in ring-forts, at Effin, Paradise and Shangarry. But many others are not in any way associated with ancient remains.

Most of them are strong clear springs of good water; some are silting up or falling in from neglect and the trampling of cattle; a few have dried up completely. In size they vary from about 25 feet in diameter (Ballyallinan) to two inches in diameter (Tobairín a' Leafine, Meenyline South). This last is not a spring but a little round hole in a rock, into which water seeps. Another which is not a spring is the Rag Well at Kilmoylan Upper, which is a *bullán*. Here, too, we may mention Saint Ailbe's Rock at Lackelly, where water which collected in hollows in the rock was used for medicinal purposes. This, however, was not regarded as a holy well; it is not, therefore, included in the list below.

Nearly all of the wells have trees (usually ash trees) or bushes (usually whitethorn bushes) close beside them, and many are situated in a clump or small grove of trees or bushes. Others which now have no tree or bush nearby did, in the past, have them, according to local tradition. In several places, when the bush or tree by the well died or was blown down, another was planted to replace it.

Dedications

The dedications of holy wells are an indication of the extent and the limits of popular devotion. They may also be of some value in the study of the ecclesiastical history of the area.

The Deity: Thirteen wells are dedicated to Rí an Domhnaigh—the King of Sunday—one of the titles of the Deity. This devotion seems to be typically Irish, and also is probably very old. One well, at Dromin, is dedicated to the Holy Trinity, which agrees with the parish dedication, and one, at Cluggin, to the Holy Cross, which may be derived from a dedication of the nearby church.

Our Lady: Of the twenty-three wells dedicated to Our Lady, eight are situated in parishes or beside churches so dedicated.

St. Patrick: Nineteen wells are dedicated to St. Patrick, of which five

are situated in parishes anciently dedicated to St. Patrick (Ardpatrick, Donoghmore, Knockpatrick, Mungret and Singland). In all cases where tradition has survived the wells are said to have been visited by the saint, and all lie within the area which, according to the *Tripartite Life* and other early literary sources, was traversed by the saint. Thus there is the possibility that some of them may have been places of Christian devotion since St. Patrick's time.

St. Brighid: Twelve wells are dedicated to St. Brighid. Three of these, at Kilbreedy Major, Kilbreedy Minor and Stonehall, correspond to parish or church dedications. Others are said, in tradition, to have been visited by the Saint.

St. Ite: There are four wells dedicated to St. Ite, all of them in the south-western part of the county, in the area where the saint lived and worked. All of them, in tradition, are directly associated with her. Two of them are in Killeedy parish.

St. Senan: Three wells are dedicated to St. Senan, apparently to St. Senan of Scattery (8th March), who was associated with the north-central part of the country where the wells lie.

St. Colman: Five wells are dedicated to St. Colman. Two of these, at Coleman's Well and Kilcolman, had patterns on the twenty-ninth of October, which indicates that the patron is Colman Mac Duach. No feast day is remembered for the other three. There are ninety-seven saints named Colman listed in the *Martyrology of Donegal;* the question of dedications to St. Colman is thereby made difficult, particularly as a change of patron to a more popular saint of the same name may have occurred.

St. Mo Lua: Three wells are dedicated to this saint. No traditions have survived at Doondonnell, but the others, at Ardagh and Emlygrennan, have Mo Lua of Cluain Fearta Molua (4th August) as patron.

St. Gobnait: Three wells, at Castletown (Ballyagran), Ballynahinch and Bohercarron. That as Castletown is near a church dedicated to her, and a pattern was held on the feast day (11th Feb.) here. No tradition survives at the other two.

St. Ciaran: has two wells, at Clonagh and Kilfinny. Both are dedicated to Ciaran of Clonmacnoise.

One well is dedicated to each of the following saints:

St. Banbhan: at Ballyshane. No tradition as to which saint of this name is the patron. Canon Begley[1] suggests Banban (1st May).

St. Beinid: The well at Ballyallinan is situated close to a ruined church called Templebeinid, and is said to be dedicated to this saint. It is also called St. Bernard's Well, and is visited on 20th August, the feast day of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux. These saints may be identical.

[1]Begley: *Diocese of Limerick, Ancient and Medieval,* 63.

St. Brona: A well at Athlacca, beside a ruin called Kilbroney is dedicated to this saint. No tradition survives.

St. Cainneach: A well in Gortavalla East. Local tradition say that he is "the same saint as in Kilkenny".

St. Fintan: The well at Doon is dedicated to St. Fintan of Doon (Dún Bleisce).

St. Fionán: A well at Kilfinane. No tradition survives.

St. Lachtín: A well at Knocknagranshee, dedicated to Saint Lachtín of Acadh Úr (19th March).

St. Muirdeabhair: The well at Barrigone is said[2] to be dedicated to St. Muirdeabhair the Wise (3rd Nov.), but the pattern was held on 14th-15th August.

St. Munchin: A well at Bruree was dedicated to St. Mainchin of Disert Mic Cuilinn.[3]

St. Molug: A well at Tobermalug. No tradition has survived.

St. Mochua: A well at Darraghmore, at which August 31st is a day of special devotion, is dedicated to St. Mo Chua, but none of the sixteen saints of this name is celebrated on this date.

St. Oran: A well at Ahaveheen seems to be dedicated to this saint, but no tradition as to the patron survives. It may be St. Odhran, Abbot of Scattery.

Doubtful dedications are St. Cilleán (Herbertstown), St. Mo Chaoi (Caherconlish), St. Feilimidh (Ludden), St. Mo Larach (Emlygrennan), St. Mo Lunna or Alunna (Tullybracky), and St. Naoi (Tobernea).

Although it is impossible to say with certainty when the devotion to any particular saint became popular, we may be permitted to make a distinction between those listed above, all of which could be early Christian dedications, and some of which almost certainly are, and those listed below, which seem in many cases to be of medieval origin.

St. John the Baptist: Six wells are dedicated to this saint, of which three, at Athlacca, Cooliska and Rathjordan bear the full name of *Tobar Eoin Baiste* or *Baptist's Well.* Two, at Hospital and Rylanes, are close to foundations of the Knights Hospitallers, whose patron he was, and one, at Fedamore, follows the dedication of the parish. At Cooliska the pattern was held on the feast of the Beheading of St. John the Baptist (29th August).

St. James: Four wells. Three of these, at Ballymacave, Nantenan and Tervoe had patterns on 25th July (St. James the Greater). No tradition survives as to the patron of the well in Ballinlough, but it is probable that we owe all four dedications to the medieval devotion to St. James of Compostella.

[3]Id. 71-2. [2]Id. 111.

St. Anne: Of the two wells dedicated to St. Anne, that at Sunville Upper had a day of devotion on 26th July (St. Anne, mother of the B.V.M.), but no tradition survives as to the patron of that at Curraghbridge.

St. Michael: Two wells. One of these, at Kilmihil, follows an old church dedication; there is no tradition about the patron of that at Gortnagross.

SS. Peter and Paul: One well at Ballingarry (Coshlea); there may be some connection with the dedication of Kilmallock. A well at Knocklong is said to be dedicated to St. Paul, but no tradition survives.

St. David: A well at Newcastle West, which agrees with the parish dedication. This, almost certainly, came from the Fitzgeralds' association with Wales.

St. Dominic: A well at Rossbrien, close to the ruin of a church dedicated to St. Dominic.

St. Francis: A well at Ardnamoher, beside the Franciscan House of Moor Abbey.

St. Margaret: A well at Uregare, agreeing with the parish dedication, St. Margaret, V.M., 20th July.

St. Mary Magdalen: A well at Kilbane, agreeing with the parish dedication.

St. Nicholas: A well at Monaclinoe, apparently from parish dedication.

St. Lawrence: Beside the church of Inch Saint Lawrence is the well dedicated to St. Lawrence the Martyr (10th August).

St. Simon: A well beside Ballysimon churchyard is said to be dedicated to St. Simon.

St. Bartholomew: The well at Templeathea is dedicated to Our Lady, but the pattern was held on 24th August, the feast of St. Bartholomew the Apostle, the patron of the parish of Athea.

There is, in many places, a clear connection between the patron of the well and the dedication of the parish or of a church, and although it is possible that some few of the wells, such as Saint Patrick's Well at Singland, may have been associated with the patron before the dedication of the church or parish, it is much more likely that, as a rule, the dedication of the church or parish preceeded the association of the well with the patron. It is, for instance, most unlikely that there was any popular devotion at Saint Dominic's Well, Rossbrien, or St. Francis' Well, Ardnamoher, before the establishment of the nearby church or abbey. (Of course, we cannot entirely exclude the possibility of a rededication of a well to a new patron). Many of the wells lie close to church sites and were, without doubt, used to provide water for the church or the house of the clergy. In the *Rituale Romanum* there is a form of blessing for wells of this kind, and wells blessed in this way might easily become

centres of popular devotion.[1] This may have been the origin of devotion at some wells—we may note that the popular name is always "blessed well". On the other hand, popular devotion to a well associated with a church could have arisen without any formal blessing of the well.

Ancient Remains at Wells

Many of the wells are enclosed or lined with walls of dry or mortared masonry which may be ancient, but quite impossible to date. There are only three inscriptions dated prior to 1800—those at St. James' Well, Nantenan (1750), the site of Sunday Well, Lisaleen (1760), and St. Lachtín's Well, Knocknagranshee (1791), and only two other have carvings which may be of earlier date than 1800, Patrickswell (Ballyrahan East) and Patrickswell (Knockainey parish).

The infamous "Act to prevent the further Growth of Popery" (VI Anne 3), as well as prohibiting "the riotous and unlawful assembling together of many thousands of papists to the said wells and other places" and prescribing a fine of 10/- on all who met at wells and 20/- on "all and every person and persons who at such assemblies build booths, sell ale, victuals or other commodities" with a public flogging in default of payment, enjoined on all magistrates the demolition of "all crosses, pictures and inscriptions that are anywhere publickly set up, and are the occasion of any popish superstitions". It is probable that this law caused the destruction of such embellishments as may have existed at the wells.

Legends

The legends associated with the wells fall into two groups, those told about many wells and those told about one particular well. The following legends are associated with several different wells.

1. The well was desecrated by the washing of dirty clothes or animals in it, whereupon it moved to another place. In some cases the old site is pointed out.
2. A fish lives in the well. Those who see it will be cured or have their request granted.
3. The fish was taken from the well, innocently and had to be put back, or maliciously, with ill results for the taker.
4. Water taken from the well will not boil.
5. Wood taken from the tree at the well will not burn.
6. Ill results follow the taking of water from the well or wood from the tree.
7. An unbeliever took a blind horse to make the rounds, in mockery. The horse was cured and he was struck blind.

[1]But we should note that wells intended for ordinary domestic use were also blessed. Adolph Franz: *Die Kirchlichen Benediktionen in Mittelalter,* 1909, I, 610-611.

8. A blind person dreamed of a cure at the well, went there and was cured.
9. The Saint prayed for water or struck the ground, whereupon the well sprang up.
10. The print of the saint's hands or feet may still be seen on a stone at the well.
11. Supernatural beings are seen, or voices or music heard, at the well.
12. A treasure is buried at the well.

SOURCES

In order to make as full a list as possible, a search was first made in the Ordnance Survey Letters and the Ordnance Survey Name Books, together with an examination, sheet by sheet, of the 1840-41 six-inch ordnance survey, the revised edition of the same, 1919-1928, and the 25-inch ordnance survey. Next the relevant manuscripts in the archive of the Folklore Commission were examined, and traditions about the wells excerpted from MSS numbers 466, 899, 947, 956, 1092, 1136 and S480 to S529 inclusive. Following this, an effort was made to visit all the wells on the list, and 151 of them were visited during the year 1954.

Other sources are few. O'Kelly, in " A Survey of the Antiquities in the Barony of Small County, County Limerick " *North Munster Antiquarian Journal* 1943-1944, includes the holy wells of that barony in his survey. T. J. Westropp, in " The Ancient Churches in the County of Limerick ", *P.R.I.A.*, XXV, C,8, mentions several of the wells, but his information seems to be derived almost entirely from the ordnance survey documents and not from any independent examination. Canon Begley mentions some in his *The Diocese of Limerick, Ancient and Mediaeval,* 1906. The " List of Churches in the Jasper White MS.", in Lenihan's *Limerick, its History and Antiquities,* 1866, has helped to establish the early church and parish dedications. Other authorities are quoted as they occur, in the following list, but the main sources, listed above are indicated only when directly quoted.

THE WELLS

ABBREVIATIONS:

1840 map = The Six-inch Ordnance Survey of Co. Limerick, 1840-1841 edition. OSL = The Ordnance Survey Letters, Co. Limerick. OSNB = The Ordnance Survey Name Books, Co. Limerick. WCL = Westropp, "Ancient Churches of Limerick", PRIA, XXV, C, 8.

The following is a list of the holy wells of the county. The baronies, which are arranged in alphabetical order, have been taken as the general divisions. Under the heading of each barony the wells are listed according to parish (civil) and townland, in alphabetical order. At the end of each barony list are given the wells about which there is some doubt as to existence or location or sanctity. The names are spelled throughout as in the *General Alphabetical Index to the Townlands, Towns, Parishes and Baronies,* 1861.

The number of the Six-inch Ordnance Survey sheet is given for each well, and the exact position of each on the map is indicated by giving co-ordinates measured in millemetres in the conventional manner, first the *easting*, that is, a measurement from the left or west edge of the map, and then the *northing*, that is a measurement from the bottom or south edge of the map. Thus, Sheet 13, 682:224 means a point on sheet number 13 of the six-inch ordnance survey of Co. Limerick which is 682 millimetres from the left edge and 224 millimetres from the bottom of the sheet.

The wells are numbered consecutively throughout the list.

Clanwilliam Barony

1. Par. Caheravally, tld. Lickadoon, sheet 13, 682:224 "Toberstroke" on 1840 map. A clear spring 6-8 feet in diam. enclosed by a rough stone wall, with a large ash tree and a whitethorn close by. It cures sore eyes and the "stroke", whence its name. Rounds were made within living memory, usually on Saturdays; rags and medals were left on the whitethorn. No patron is known. Legend: it moved when clothes were washed.

2. Par. Cahernarry, tld. Cahernarry (Keane), sheet 13, 883:409 "Tobersenan" on 1840 map. A pool about 16 feet in diameter, with a strong clear spring. No devotions now, but is said to have been a holy well; St Senan is given as the patron. The water is used for domestic purposes. No traditions except that the well moved "a distance of about ¼ mile"—OSNB.

3. Par. Caherconlish, tld. Tobermalug, sheet 14, 421:269 "Tobermalug (now dry)" on 1840 map. The site is known, but there are no traditions. "The inhabitants assert that prior to 1814 this well existed and religious ceremonies were performed at it, till it was used for temporal purposes such as washing clothes &c.—when it dried up to its present state & to boil up about 10 chains W. of it in another townland"—OSNB. J. F. Lynch suggests Lug brother of Fintan of Dún Bleisce (St Finlug, 6 Jan.) as patron. *Ir na Gaedhilge,* x 568. *OSNB* gives Mo Laga as patron.

4. Par. Derrygalvin, tld. Ballysimon (Dickson), sheet 5, 866: lower edge. A little well, lined with dry stone, with a small whitethorn bush, 40 yards north of Ballysimon graveyard. Marked "Ballysimon Well" (not in Gothic) on 1925 edition of 6-inch O.S. map. Locally "St Simon's Well" and "All Saints Well". Said to cure sore eyes and bad stomach. No devotions remembered, no tradition survives.

5. Par. Donaghmore, tld. Rathurd, sheet 13, 669:479. "St Patrick's Well" on 1840 map. A little well of clear water in a field. It is known locally as "The Blessed Well" but no devotions are performed, and no traditions survive. The parish is dedicated to St Patrick.

6. Par. Drumkeen, tld. Curraghnaboul, sheet 23, right edge: 522 "Toberreendoney" on 1840 map. A clear strong spring about three feet in diameter. Beside it are two large poplar trees. The well is known over a wide area, and rounds are often made, especially in May and September, and on Saturdays. The water, drunk before sunrise, is a cure for ailments; well known for the relief of sore eyes. Rags, rosaries, medals are hung on the trees, and small statues and pictures are left at the well. Now said to be Our Lady's Well. Legend: Water from well will not boil.

7. Par. Inch St Lawrence, tld. Inch St Lawrence North, sheet 14, 318:025. "St Lawrence's Well" on 1840 map. A sluggish spring, about three feet in diameter and five feet below ground level. Steps lead down to water. Situated in Inch St Lawrence graveyard. Rounds are still made, especially on the saint's day, 10th August. A pattern was held on this day until about 1810. The water cures stomach disorders. Legend: a man dreamed of a cure there, came and was cured.

8. Par. Kilmurry, tld. Kilbane, sheet 5, 813:093. "Mary Magdalene's Well" on 1840 map. In a grove of whitethorn bushes. A masonry cupola over the well has a niche for a life-size statue of the saint. Rounds still made, especially on the feast day (22nd July). Flowers and candles are left at the well.

9. Par. Rathjordan, tld. Rathjordan, sheet 23, 535:079. "St John the Baptist's Well" on 1840 map. A small well, now dry, under a whitethorn bush. No devotions now, but it used be visited on Saturdays and on 24th June. Rags were left on the bush. Legend: The bush was cut as firewood, would not burn, was replaced and grew again.

10. Par. Rochestown, tld. Rochestown, sheet 23, 015:497. "Toberanoran" on 1840 map. A weak spring in a little concrete cupola, beside a large ash tree and a whitethorn. Dedicated to Our Lady. Rounds still made, especially on Saturdays and

15th August. To cure sore eyes it should be visited before sunrise. "They affirm that its water was effectual in curing impotents"—OSNB. Rags, medals and other small objects left as offerings. About 1830 the landlord, John Croker, prohibited visits, and allowed cattle to deface the well. In 1922 Courtney Croker built the concrete cupola "to save the well from desecration". Legends: The well moved when sheep were washed in it. The water will not boil. A blind horse was brought to make the rounds, the horse was cured and the owner struck blind. The name means "The Well of the Songs" because a blind man dreamed of a cure there, came and was cured and sang songs of praise (or heard songs coming from the well).

11. Par. St Lawrence's, tld. Monaclinoe, sheet 5, 680: 040. "St Nicholas' Well" on 1840 map. A slow spring in a cupola of brick, with a slab "St Nicholas, pray for us". Rounds were made especially on Sundays, but devotion has died out. The well seems to have been in the ecclesiastical parish of St Nicholas.

12. Par. St Patrick's, tld. Singland, sheet 5, 610:164. "St Patrick's Well" on 1840 map. A wall encloses small field in which are the well, the rounds path and three natural rocks, which are "stations". The well has over it a statue of the saint, in an alcove of cut stone, erected in 1904 by the clergy and people of the parish. Rounds are still made and it is visited by numbers of people on 17th March. Water cures sore eyes and other ailments. St Patrick baptised Cairtheann, Chief of the Dál gCais here (*Trip. Life*, ed. Stokes, 207). Legends: No water could be found when building the church. St Patrick prayed for water and the well sprang up. The print of his feet can be seen on one of the rocks.

Clanwilliam Barony—Doubtful Wells

13. "In Luden parish there is a well—Tobar Fheidhlimidh", Ir. na Gaedhilge, x, 568.

14. "The village of Cahirconlish is supplied with water from the well of Tobarmochaoi" do. do.

Barony of Connello Lower

15. Par. Askeaton, tld. Moig South, sheet 11, 201:267. "Sunday Wells" on 1840 map. Two wells, 20 yards apart. Each walled with dry stone circular walls, about nine feet in diam. and four feet deep. Stonework now falling in. Some whitethorn trees beside well. Usually dry. Rounds used to be made on Sunday mornings before sunrise, but devotions ceased about 60 years ago. Rags used to hang on bushes. Legends: Dirty clothes were washed in the well and next day there were two wells; the real well could then not be distinguished. A fish used be seen in the original well.

16. Par. Clonagh, tld. Clonagh, sheet 28, 790:433. "St Kiernan's Well" on 1840 map. A little spring in a cupola of rough masonry. A pattern was held on 9th Sept. (St Ciarán of Clonmacnoise). Rounds are still made and small objects left as offerings. Pebbles were used to count rounds. Water cures eyes. Water is sometimes taken from the well for domestic purposes. Legends: Clothes were washed and the well moved. The well supplied the monks at the nearby church. A mysterious woman was seen praying at the well; a man who interrupted her died. An underground passage leads to the graveyard; the last person buried must bring water for the dead until relieved by the next arrival.

17. Par. Croagh, tld. Ballinvira, sheet 20, 848:275. "Toberreendoney" on 1840 map. A well in a field near a stream, with an old whitethorn tree close by. Visits were made before sunrise on Sundays. Famous for cure of sore eyes, and formerly much visited. Still visited occasionally. Said to be connected in some way with St Ita.

18. Par. Croagh, tld. Ballymacave, sheet 29, 571:454. "St James' Well"—local. Not on O.S. maps. The well was on the bank of a stream and disappeared in a drainage scheme; for some time after this the water from the stream at the point where the well formerly lay was used. Crowds came on the eve of the feast (25th July) at dawn. Rags were hung on the bushes. The water cured "St James' Evil (scrofula ?), but should be applied by one named James, between sunset and sunrise. This may be the "small stream, supposed to be efficacious in cutaneous disorders" *Lewis Topographical Dictionary*, I, 434.

19. Par. Doondonnell, tld. Cloghanarold, sheet 29, 074:549. "Tobernawatha" on 1919 revision of 6-inch survey map. A clear spring with some rough dry-walling, 400 yards from ruin of Doondonnell church. "A well dedicated to St Molua", Begley,

The Diocese of Limerick, Ancient and Mediaeval, 278. No tradition of devotion. Legend: The well moved for some unknown reason.

20. Par. Nantenan, tld. Ardgoul South, sheet 20, 210:301. "St James' Well" on 1840 map. A good spring in a masonry cupola, surrounded by a wall and gate. The masonry is recent, but a slab reads "This work was erected by Mr Matt Flood in honor of St James Apostle 1750" surmounted by a carved figure of a fish, with "St Js Trot". The well is often visited, and the feast day (25th July) was formerly a parish holiday and pattern day, when very large crowds gathered. The day is still kept as a day of special devotion at the well. On the feast day or the following Sunday there are public prayers at the well, often followed by a hurling match, with a dance in the evening. The water is good for sore eyes and sores of all kinds. Small objects are left as offerings. St James is patron of the parish. Legends: There is a large trout in the well; if it is seen, a cure is sure. The well moved when vegetables were washed in it. The well was filled in by the landlord and sprang up close by. The water will not boil.

21. Par. Rathkeale, tld. Ballyallinan North, sheet 29, 175:147. "St Bernard's Well" on 1840 map. Also called St Beinid's Well; it is close to a ruin called Templebeinid. The well is a large clear pool, about twenty feet in diameter, and three feet deep, with a strong flowing spring. Still visited on 20th August, Good Friday and other days. Cures sore eyes, lameness and rheumatism. Rags, medals and rosaries are hung on the very large ash tree which overhangs the pool. Sometimes nails are driven in the tree as offerings. Legend: The well moved when clothes were washed in it.

Connello Upper Barony

22. Par. Ballingarry, tld. Ballyelan, sheet 38, 133:345. "St Patrick's Well" on 1840 map. A small well surmounted by a concrete cover bearing a large statue of the patron. Well and rounds path enclosed within a stone wall. Devotions still performed, especially on 17th March when there is a procession and public prayers. The water cures sore eyes. Legends: St Patrick blessed the well; a stone bearing the print of his hand was there formerly. The well moved.

23. Par. Ballingarry, tld. Coolrus, sheet 38, 831:319. "St Patrick's Well" on 1840 map. A strong spring in an open field, about 50 yards from a ring fort. A few thorn trees overhang the well. Rounds are still made by a few on 17th March. Water cures sore eyes. Rags are left on the bushes. Legends: St Patrick blessed the well. When clothes were washed it moved; the original site is pointed out.

24. Par. Ballingarry, tld. Graigacurragh, sheet 38, 463:480. "The Blessed Well"—local name. Not on maps. A small well surrounded by thorn bushes inside north fence of road 400 yards west of Granagh Catholic church. No devotions remembered. The water cured stomach disorders if drunk before breakfast. Said by some to be called "St John's Well".

25. Par. Ballingarry, tld. Rylanes, sheet 29, 806:033. "Sunday Well" on 1840 map. A strong spring now forming part of Ballingarry waterworks. Devotions have long ceased, but still known as a holy well. Visited formerly on Saturday evenings and Sunday mornings and said to cure many diseases.

26. Par. Ballingarry, tld. Rylanes, sheet 29, 815:045. "John's Well" on 1840 map. A small spring overhung by a large ash tree. No devotions now, but known as a holy well. Close to the ruins of the reputed Hospitaller's house.

27. Par. Bruree, tld. Bruree, sheet 39, 236:092. "St Munchin's Well" on 1889 25-inch O.S map. In Bruree village, behind the old village pump. No devotions now, but rounds were made within living memory. The water cured bad stomach and sore eyes. Legends: The well moved when desecrated. The saint caused the well to spring up when refused a drink.

28-30. Par. Cloncagh, tld. Cloncagh, sheet 37, 415:410. Three Wells. "Sunday Well, Lady's Well, St Patrick's Well" on 1840 map. St Patrick's Well is the only one now known; rounds have been made at it in recent years. Celebrated for curing blindness. Visited especially on 17th March. Legends: While praying at Leacht Phádraig (a rock about 1.000 yards from the well, associated in tradition with the saint) St Patrick saw a serpent approaching the church, and banished it by throwing his prayer-book at it. The well sprang up where the book fell. A fish is seen in the well by those whose requests are to be granted. Lady's Well has disappeared. Sunday's Well exists, but there are no devotions. Of these two wells there is now only a vague tradition in the district.

31. Par. Cloncrew, tld. Ahaveheen, sheet 45, 346:258. "Toberhoran" on 1840 map. A small pool with a clear spring, close to the river Deel. Formerly very popular, but now visited only seldom. The water cured sore eyes and other ailments. No local tradition of patron, but John O'Donovan gives Tobar hOdhráin in OSNB.

32. Par. Colmanswell, tld. Gortroe, sheet 46, 743:201. "St Coleman's Well" on 1840 map. The well is now covered and enclosed by modern walls. Rounds are made frequently, especially on the saint's day, 29th October. A pattern was held up to about sixty years ago. The well was famed for curing sore eyes and other ailments. Rags were hung on a large willow which grew at the well; this tree is now gone. Legends: A man who was cured left his crutches as a votive offering later; he went back and removed the crutches, hoping to sell them, and was again struck lame. A man who worked on the pattern day found that the money thus earned vanished from his pocket as he passed the well.

33. Par. Corcomohide, tld. Castletown, sheet 46, 315:530. "St Derivla's Well" on 1840 map. Properly *St Gobnait's Well* or *St Debora's Well* in local tradition (Gobnait and Debora are the same name in this area). Close to the site of Kilgobnet and Gobnet's Fort. Rounds are still made, and a pattern and fair was held on 11th February until about 1870. The well is a small spring with a large ash tree and a whitethorn beside it. Legends: Saint Gobnait lived here. A white stag is sometimes seen at the well.

34. Par. Corcomohide, tld. Castletown, sheet 38, 142:022. "Lady's Well" on revised 6-inch O.S. map. A stone-lined well with steps leading down to water level. Recently enclosed in a concrete wall and embellished with a statue of Our Lady. Rounds are often made, especially on 25th March and 15th August. Rags are hung on the bushes nearby. Legends: The well moved when clothes were washed; the old site may be seen.

35. Par. Kilfinny, tld. Ballynakill, sheet 30, 348:443. "St Kiernan's Well" on 1840 map. A well about two feet in diameter with steps leading down about four feet to water level. Rounds are still made by a few, especially on 9th September. Rounds are made partly in the graveyard and partly at the well. The water cures sore eyes. Small religious objects are left as offerings. Legends: The nearby church (ruin) was built by St Ciarán. His footprint may be seen on one of the stones at the well.

36. Par. Kilmeedy, tld. Cloonpasteen, sheet 45, 300:476. "Toberbreedia" on 1840 map. A pool about fifteen feet in diameter with a strong clear spring. Rounds still made, but not often. Formerly much visited in 1st February. Celebrated for curing blindness.

Connello Upper Barony—Doubtful Wells

37. T. J. Wesropp, in "Ancient Churches of Limerick", PRIA, XXV, C, 8, gives a well of SS Peter and Paul near the ruined church of Ballingarry. No reference to any such well seems to exist, and there is no local tradition. There may be a confusion of names with Ballingarry in Coshlea Barony, which has a well of SS Peter and Paul.

Coonagh Barony

38. Par. Doon, tld. Curraghakimikeen, sheet 8, 307:117. "Tobernagommaun" on 1840 map. "This well is placed in a valley. It is a spring and has a hawthorn bush near it. It was, it is said, a holy well anciently, the cause of its discontinuation is not known"—OSNB. No tradition survives.

39. Par. Doon, tld. Gortavalla East, sheet 15, 856:028. "Kenny's Well" (not in Gothic) on 1840 map. A clear spring well about three feet in diameter in an open field near a fence. Rounds were made up to recently; the water cured many ailments. "Devotions are performed chiefly on Saturdays at it, and it had a pattern till about 1800"—OSNB. Locally called "Saint Kenny's Well"—the patron is said to be St Cainneach of Kilkenny. Legend: The well moved when an infant was washed in it.

40. Par. Doon, tld. Kilmoylan Lower, sheet 16, 093:173. "Toberfantan" on 1840 map. A clear spring well about three feet in diameter in a grove of trees in Doon village. No devotions now, but formerly had a day of devotion on 3rd January, the feast of the patron, St Fintan of Dún Bleisce (Doon). Legend: The well moved when clothes were washed in it.

41. Par. Doon, tld. Kilmoylan Upper, sheet 16, 132:115. "Rag Well" on 1840 map. This is not a well proper, but a large *bullán*, ten inches in diameter and five inches deep in a rock which protrudes from beneath the roots of a large oak tree. No

devotions now, but known as a holy well. The water cures ailments, especially warts. Formerly called *Tobar na gCeartach,* (Rag well) from the number of rags hung on the tree. Said to be dedicated to Our Lady.

42. Par. Grean, tld. Garrison, sheet 24, 389:147. "Patrick's Well" (not in Gothic) on 1840 map. A small well on the roadside, now enclosed in a concrete canopy. Said to have been "some sort of a blessed well", but there are no devotions. Used for domestic supply and cattle. Legends: Saint Patrick drank at this well. It moved when a travelling woman washed an infant in it.

43. Par. Grean, tld. Linfield, sheet 24, 250:420. "Tobernarughilla" on 1840 map. A good spring with a rivulet running down a steep slope. Now used for watering cattle, and not known as a holy well. "This well was some time ago held in sacred veneration and devotions performed at it"—OSNB. "The name I got for it from an aged man living on the very spot is *Tobar na Drochairigh*"—OSL.

44. Par. Kilteely, tld. Ballyvouden, sheet 33, 068:559. "St Patrick's Well" (not in Gothic) on revised 6-inch survey. A good spring, surrounded by a wall, with a cattle drinking trough. No evidence of devotion.

45. Par. Oola, tld. Ballylahiff, sheet 33a, 130:095. "Lady's Well" on 1840 map. A clear flowing spring in a small well which is built up and covered by a small masonry structure. Rounds are still made, though not as frequently as formerly. Small religious objects and flowers are left as offerings. 15th August is a day of special devotion. Legend: The well moved when clothes were washed in it.

46. Par. Oola, tld. Oola Hills East, sheet 25, 177:036. "Tobernarova" on 1840 map. The well described in OSNB as "about eighteen inches deep, twelve inches wide at its mouth and twenty-four at the bottom, curiously formed by nature in a solid rock having always the depth of six inches of water in it" seems to have disappeared. The well seen now is a small clear spring with some collapsed dry-stone lining. No traditions of devotion and only a vague tradition that it was a holy well. Legends: The inhabitants of the castle had no water. A bottle of water was blessed by the Pope and sent from Rome; when this was poured on the ground the well sprang up—OSNB.

47. Par. Tuoghcluggin, tld. Cluggin, sheet 24, 801:174. "Tobernacrohaneeve" on 1840 map. A small clear well in an open field. Now used for domestic purposes, but known to have been a holy well. "A holy well dedicated to the Holy Cross, to which also the church seems to have been dedicated"—OSL.

Coshlea Barony

48. Par. Ardpatrick, tld. Ardpatrick, sheet 56, 147:397. "St Patrick's Well" on 1840 map. A shaft about two and a half feet square, now dry and filled with rubble to about six feet below ground level, but said to have been forty feet deep. Probably was the well which supplied water to the monastery. Rounds were made within living memory but are now discontinued. The water was said to cure rheumatism, lameness and rickets. Formerly much visited on 17th March. Legend: A person who could not see his reflection in the well would die within a year.

49. Par. Athneasy, tld. Ballinvana, sheet 40, 548:116. "Lady's Well" on 1840 map. A small spring in an open field. For long neglected, but recently embellished with a statue of Our Lady and enclosed by a fence and gate. Formerly had a large whitethorn tree; has a small whitethorn bush now. Rounds are still made: the water cures sore eyes. A pattern was held on 25th March, but is long discontinued. Rags, were hung on the whitethorn as offerings.

50. Par. Ballingaddy, tld. Ballingaddy North, sheet 48, 084:305. "Lady's Well" on 1840 map. The well still exists and is known to have been a holy well, but there are no devotions and no other traditions.

51, 52, 53. Par. Ballingaddy, tld. Ballingaddy S., sheet 47, 850:195. "Toberreendoney" "Lady's Well" and "St Bridget's Well" on 1840 map. "Three holy wells, not much frequented at present"—OSNB. Two of the wells still exist, the third has been closed up. A vague tradition that there were four holy wells here. No names are remembered. Devotions have long since ceased.

54. Par. Ballingaddy, tld. Kilmihil, sheet 47, 832:120. "Tobermihil" on 1840 map. "Tubberveeheel or St Michael's Well—local name, A Blessed Well"—OSNB. No tradition has survived.

55. Par. Ballingarry, tld. Ballingarry, sheet 49, 246:270. "St Peter and St Paul's Well" on 1840 map. A clear spring covered by a small stone structure. No rounds or devotions now, but rounds were made and rags hung on an old thorn tree beside the

well within living memory. The thorn tree is now gone. Legend: The well moved when clothes were washed in it.

56. Par. Ballingarry, tld. Ballyfroota, sheet 49, 190:332. "Toberreendoney" on 1840 map. A small well in a little grove of whitethorn trees, which overhang the well. Rounds are still made, but not very often. Rags are still hung on the bushes as offerings.

57. Par. Ballylanders, tld. Ballylanders, sheet 49, 417:201. "Lady's Well" on 1840 map. A small well in Ballylanders churchyard; the water from the well flows into a small overflow basin. Now embellished with statues of Our Lady and St Bernadette Soubirous. Still popular: rounds are often made there, especially in May and August. The water cures many ailments. A pattern is held on 15th August, the largest of its kind in the county, with parades, games and dances in addition to the devotions at the well. Formerly rags were hung on the bushes near the well, but this is no longer done. On the pattern day the well is decorated with flowers, &c., and small contributions of money towards this are made to the custodian of the well. In making it was customary to kneel and pray at the well and at three other "stations"; at one of these, in the church ruin, a cross was marked. Legends: A trout is seen in the well by those who are about to have their prayers answered. The water from the well cannot boil. The well was first found when an ailing woman dreamed of a cure there; she came and was cured.

58. Par. Darragh, tld. Ballintober, sheet 57, top left corner. "Toberbreedia" on 1841 map. A small spring in an open field, with some old whitethorn trees. The rounds path is marked by five stones. Rounds are still made, but not often. Formerly much visited, especially on 1st February. Widely known as the "Chincough Well" and said to cure whooping cough in children. The alternative cures were: water was taken from the well to the patient; moss from the well was boiled in milk and the milk drunk; the patient was brought to the well and drank the water there. Legends: A fowler washed his dog in the well and it moved. A treasure buried at the well is guarded by a phantom bull.

59. Par. Darragh, tld. Darragh More, sheet 59a, top edge. "Tobermacduagh" on 1841 map, "Tobar Mo-chua" on 1928 edition. A clear spring about four feet in diameter, enclosed in rough stone work, in a grove of beech trees on the hillside. Rounds are still made but not by many. A pattern was held up to about 1820 on 31st August, which is still known as the saint's day. The water cures many ailments, rags and small religious objects are left as offerings. The name *Tobermacduagh* on the 1840 map is a mistake; the name Darachmochua occurs in a charter of 1185 granting lands to Monasteranenagh, (*C.S.P.I.*, i, 136). Legends: The well moved from the vicinity of the churchyard, 400 yards away, when clothes were washed there. A trout is seen in the well by those about to be cured. A man caught the trout, thinking it was an ordinary fish; efforts to cook it failed and it was returned to the well.

60. Par. Emlygrennan, tld. Balline, sheet 48, 671:458. "St Molua's Well" on 1840 map. A clear spring in an open field 250 yards east of Emlygrennan church (ruined). A circular wall about the well, and a life size statue of the saint have recently been erected. This is probably the best known well in Co. Limerick. It is still often visited, especially around the saint's day, 3rd-4th August. A large pattern was held formerly. Rounds are made partly at the well, where there is a rounds-path, and partly in the churchyard, where there is a second rounds-path; this has two upright slabs (apparently ancient) which are used as "marking stones". Usually three visits are made on different days; at each visit the pilgrim makes six rounds at the well and three rounds in the graveyard. Water is drunk at each round at the well. Small religious objects are left as offerings at the well; formerly rags were hung on the bushes in the graveyard. The water cures sore eyes. skin disease and ague. The *Metrical Dindshenchus* (Todd Lecture Series X, p. 230) may refer to this well; it is interesting to note that this poem tells that a circuit of the well made *deiseal* brings blessing while one made *tuathal* brings a curse. Legends: The well moved when clothes were washed in it; the old site is still shown. A trout in the well is seen by those whose cure is assured. The water will not boil. Heavenly music was heard at the well. A woman who took water for profane use saw a human hand in the well.

61. Par. Galbally, tld. Ardnamoher, sheet 49, 857:463. "St Francis Well" on 1840 map. Close to Moor Abbey. There are no devotions now, but visits were made within living memory. Rags were left on the bushes as offerings. The water cured sore eyes. The well formerly visited is on the west side of the road; it is usually dry.

On the east side of the road is a small well, apparently from the same spring; this is the one marked on the map. Legends: The well moved when profaned.

62. Par. Galbally, tld. Baurnagurrahy, sheet 57, 765:536. "Paradise Well" on 1840 map. A small well on the edge of a small ring-fort, surrounded by thorn trees. Rounds were made up to about 1930, especially for the cure of sore eyes. The cloth used to bathe the eyes was left on the bushes as an offering. *Paradise* appears to be a place name unconnected with the well. Legends: The well moved when profaned. Heavenly music was heard in the vicinity of the well.

63. Par. Galbally, tld. Duntryleague, sheet 49, 432:440. "St Patrick's Well" on 1840 map. The well is under the roadway, which is carried over on an arch; it is a strong clear bubbling spring. Formerly visited on 17th March. No devotions now. Children visit the well and say "Boil up, St Patrick's Well" or "Bubble up, Blessed Well".

64. Par. Kilbehenny, tld. Churchquarter, sheet 60, 410:538. "Our Lady's Well". Not marked on maps. A strong flowing spring. Rounds were formerly made on Saturdays and on 15th August. The water cured sore eyes and other ailments. There are no devotions now. Legends: The well moved when profaned. The water will not boil. A fish which lived in the well was taken away by a priest (reason for this not known).

65. Par. Kilbreedy Major, tld. Fantstown, sheet 48, 190:470. "Lady's Well" on 1840 map. A little clear spring beside the ruin of Fantstown church. Formerly much visited, but hardly ever now. A pattern was held on 15th August up to about 1820. A large ash tree grew beside the well. Legend: The Parish Priest was coming from this well one night and was shot by whiteboys. Because of this his successor abolished the pattern (This refers to the murder of Father Mulqueen, P.P., in November, 1819, see Begley, *The Diocese of Limerick, From 1691 to the Present Time*, 464-5).

66. Par. Kilbreedy Major, tld. Kilbreedy East, sheet 48, 354:504. "Toberbreedy" on 1840 map. A slow spring, lined with stone, in an open field behind Kilbreedy church ruin. Still known as a holy well, but no devotions have been practised for over a century.

67. Par. Kilfinnane, tld. Kilfinnane, sheet 48, 583:061. "St Finnane's Well" on 1840 map. "Tobar Fhionáin" on 1928 edition. A small clear running spring. No tradition seems to have survived. The nearby road is still called the Well Road. "His well is still in existence, but no stations performed at it."—OSL.

68. Par. Kilfinnane, tld. Thomastown, sheet 56, 660:550. "Toberreendoney" on 1840 map. This appears to be the entrance to a souterrain, not a well proper. It usually holds some water. Still called "Sunday's Well" by some, but there is no tradition of any devotion. Said to be the old site of Lady's Well, no. 69 below, which is in the same field, about 45 yards from this well.

69. do., "Lady's Well" on 1928 edition of 6-inch O.S. map, not on 1840 map. A clear bubbling spring in a grove of old whitethorn trees. Rounds are still made. The water cures sore eyes. Rags and small religious objects are left as offerings. Legends: The well moved from the place called "Sunday's Well" (no. 68 above) in the same field. The water will not boil. A blind man who was being led to another well recognised the presence of this well and was cured at it.

70. Par. Kilflyn, tld. Ballydonohoe, sheet 56, 582:149. "Toberpatrick" on 1840 map. A small clear well with a good spring, in a small grove of trees. No devotions now, but rounds were made within living memory.

71. Par. Kilquane, tld. Ballymacshaneboy, sheet 55, 7712:206. "Toberreendoney" on 1840 map. A small well about two feet by three feet at mouth. Small flagstones projecting from the dry stone walling which lines the well holds cups and other drinking vessels. The well is in a space about twenty feet in diameter, surrounded by an earth bank, three to four feet high and four feet thick at bottom. Rounds are still made. The water cures sore eyes. Rags and religious objects are left as offerings. This well is among the heather on the mountain side, about half a mile from the nearest house.

72. Par. Kilquane, tld. Ballyshanedehey, sheet 55, 617:303. "Lady's Well" on 1840 map. A strong clear bubbling spring in a horseshoe-shaped well lined with good dry-stone to ground level. Rounds were made within living memory, but there are no devotions now.

73. Par. Knocklong, tld. Knocklong E., sheet 41, 037:147. "St Patrick's and St

Paul's Wells" on 1840 map. "There are two holy wells, St Patrick's and St Paul's Wells, on the east side of Knocklong hill".—OSL. One spring, lined with rough dry-stone, and some old masonry remain. No tradition seems to have survived.

74. Par. Particles, tld. Sunville Upper, sheet 56, 230:403. "St Anne's Well" on 1840 map. A small oval well, about three by two feet, roughly walled with dry-stone to one foot over ground level. An old whitethorn tree grows over the well; there was a large poplar tree there formerly. No devotions now, but rounds were made up to about 1930. The water cured sore eyes; the cloth used to bathe the eyes was left as an offering. The feast of St Anne, 26th July, was a day of special devotion. The 1928 edition of the 6-inch O.S. map gives the name as "Tobar Fhionáin" but local tradition is unanimous in rejecting this name.

Coshlea Barony—Doubtful Wells

75. Par. Ballingarry, tld. Ballinvreena, sheet 48, 775:354. "Tobar Cinn Mhóir" on 1928 edition of 6-inch O.S. map. "This well is mentioned in the siege of Knocklong, a very ancient Irish story".—OSNB. "Tobercanoroe, reputedly a holy well"—WCL, 470. See *Keating's History of Ireland, Irish Texts Society*, viii, 318.

76. Par. Ballingarry, tld. Glenlary. "Templenalawe . . . it has a well of SS Peter and Paul".—WCL, 453. No such well is known in the locality.

77. Par. Emlygrennan, tld. Balline, sheet 48, 659:440. "Boragh Well" (not in Gothic) on 1840 map. "Boragh Well, a spring well".—OSNB. "Toberboragh, reputedly a holy well".—WCL, 470.

78. Par. Emlygrennan, tld. Cush, sheet 48, 654:404. "Tobermalaragh" (not in Gothic) on 1840 map. "Tubbermalaragh—local. Molara's well (see Kilmolara in Mayo).—OSNB.

79. Par. Galbally, tld. Bohercarron, sheet 41, 482:213. "Tobergobinet" (not in Gothic) on 1927 edition of 6-inch O.S. map. "A well named by some people Abby's Well and by others Gobinet's Well".—*Ir. na Gaedhilge*, xii, 64. No tradition survives.

80. Par. Knocklong, tld. Ballynahinch, sheet 40, 702:023. "Deborah's Well" (not in Gothic) on 184 map. "A well . . . Tobar Gobnait, i.e. the well of St Gabnet".—OSNB. No tradition survives.

81. Par. Knocklong, tld. Hammondstown, sheet 40, 847:045. "Toberedmond" on 1840 map. This well is marked in Gothic letters on the map, but there seems to be no evidence that it was ever regarded as a holy well.

82. Par. Knocklong, tld. Knocklong East, sheet 41, 061:170. "Toberancurraheen" on 1840 map. "A blessed well".—OSNB. This well is identified by some as that which sprang up at the siege of Knocklong (see no. 75 above). Lenihan, *Limerick, its History and Antiquities*, 735.

83. Par. Particles, tld. Mortlestown, sheet 56, 343:510. "Toberatea" (not in Gothic) on 1840 map. "This name is undoubtedly modern, and means the *tea well*—J. O'D."—OSNB. "Tobermalonagh or Toberatea, reputedly a holy well".—WCL, 470.

84. Par. Particles, tld. Mortlestown, sheet 56, 363:458. "Tobereen" on 1840 map, changed to "Tobar Fhionáin" on 1928 edition. "The name of this well it would appear is Tobereen and not Toberania. Perhaps you could say whether it ought to be engravtd in old English as a holy well? I think it ought.—J.O'D."—OSNB. "Tubbereen als. Pauderangha. The little well for Prayer" do. There is now no tradition of any holy well.

Coshma Barony

85. Par. Anhid, tld. Anhid East, sheet 30, 860:298. "Toberregan" on 1840 map. A slight trickle of water issuing from the eroded river bank. No devotions now, but rounds were made formerly. The water cured headaches. Locally called "Egan's Well".

86. Par. Athlacca, tld. Athlacca North, sheet 39, 260:537. "St Broney's Well" on 1840 map. Close to the ruin called Kilbroney. The well is now dry and the stonework collapsing. Only a few old people have heard that it is a holy well. No tradition of devotions.

87. Par. Athlacca, tld. Athlacca South, sheet 39, 292:434. "St John the Baptist's Well" on 1840 map, do. (site of) on 1924 edition. This well no longer exists; it is said that it changed position when desecrated, and is now on the roadside and used as a pump, about 75 yards from its original site. "This is a holy well where the inhabitants perform or give rounds on all Good Fridays and Sunday mornings".—OSNB.

88. Par. Croom, tld. Ballynabanoge, sheet 30, 907:075. "Banoge Well" on 1840 map. A pool, three feet in diameter, surrounded by whitethorn bushes. "This well is said to be holy and is remarkable for the curing of animals affected with sore eyes". OSNB. No devotions now, but known to have been a holy well. Used for domestic water supply. No patron known.

89. Par. Croom, tld. Skagh, sheet 30, 778:520. "Lady's Well" on 1840 map. The well is now enclosed in a concrete tank, overflowing into a basin. Two boulders, said to bear the marks of Our Lady's hands, are shown as the former site of the well. "This well is called Lady Well. It is said to possess healing virtues. There is a pattern held here on the 15th August at which people assemble from all parts".—OSNB. The pattern was discontinued about 1880, but the 15th of August is still a day of devotion, and the well is decorated with statues, flowers and lighted candles. The water cures sore eyes. Rounds are also made at other times. Legends: The well moved across the river when profaned by washing clothes in it; it was brought back by the prayers of a holy priest. A man caught the trout which lived in the well; he died in the lunatic asylum.

90. Par. Dromin, tld. Ballynamuddagh, sheet 39, 627:199. "Trinity Well" on 1840 map. A strong spring issuing from the rock, roughly covered with slabs of stone. Devotions are still made occasionally; formerly large crowds came on the Saturday before Trinity Sunday.

91. Par. Effin, tld. Effin, sheet 47, 510:052. "Lady's Well" on 1840 map. A good spring in the fosse of a ring fort. Now built up with concrete, with an overflow trough for cattle drinking. "Lady's Well, now but seldom frequented".—OSL. No devotions now, but still regarded as a holy well.

92. Par. Effin, tld. Gortacrank, sheet 47, 500:043. "Tobereracran" on 1840 map. Now a small batch of swamp from which a clear stream flows. "Toberacran. A holy well where there were stations formerly performed, but now it is seldom frequented". —OSNB. Not known now as a holy well.

93. Par. Kilbreedy Minor, tld. Kilbreedy, sheet 47, 490:359. "Saint Bridget's Well"—local name. Not on maps. A small clear pool, roughly lined with large stones. One large stone is set on edge beside the well. On the roadside, with a stile leading in to the well. Rounds are still made, but by few. Formerly very popular, especially for the cure of sore eyes.

94. Par. Tullabracky, tld. Tullabracky, sheet 31, 904:208. "Lunny's Well"—local name. Not named on maps. A clear strong spring issuing from a rock said to bear the print of the saint's knees. Now enclosed and pumped way for domestic supply. No devotions now, but the water is said to cure ailments. OSL gives various names *Tobar Mullana, Tobar Ailiunna, Blunny's Well, Mullany's Well* and *Lunny's Well*. "He is believed to be the founder of the church of Tullabracky".—OSL. "Parish Church of Tillibreaka. It is a prebend, and dedicated to St Molan, 5th day of May".—White's List, in Lenihan, *Limerick*, p. 560. "The people state that there was formerly a pattern here but the day is not remembered".—OSL.

95. Par. Uregare, tld. Uregare, sheet 39, 893:402. "St Margaret's Well" on 1840 map. A small open well in the garden of a new cottage. No devotions now, and only a vague tradition that it was a holy well. "There are stations performed at this well for the cure of diseases".—OSNB. "The people say that no stations are now performed at it".—OSL.

Coshma Barony—Doubtful Wells

96. Par. Athlacca ? "The chapel and well (fons) of St Lawrence in Ahaillaca".—White's List in Lenihan, *Limerick*, p. 561.

97. Par. Effin, tld. Tobernea Middle, sheet 47, 718:079. "Tobernea" (not in Gothic) on 1840 map. "The name of a spring well".—OSNB. The only tradition is that the well moved when a woman washed clothes in it.

98. Par. Effin ? "Toberabansha—reputedly a holy well".—WCL, 470.

99. Par. Tankardstown, tld. Tankardstown South. "The inhabitants say that there was formerly a holy well (the name of which is forgotten) in the townland of South Tankardstown, not far from the old church".—OSL. No tradition survives.

Glenquinn Barony

100. Par. Abbeyfeale, tld. Dromtrasna North, sheet 43, 257:084. "Tobermurry" on 1840 map. "The Cillíneach Well"—local. A small rectangular well with a poor spring in a little grove of whitethorn trees. Rounds are still made, especially on the

Saturdays of May. The water cures sore eyes and other ailments. Formerly the afflicted visited the well before sunrise. Small religious objects and flowers were left as offerings. Formerly rags were left on the bushes, and little rush or wild iris blade crosses were left as offerings. Said to be dedicated to Our Lady and St Ita. Legends: A woman washed clothes there and the well moved. St Patrick heard of this well and blessed it from a distance. St Ita used to visit it. Monks lived here long ago.

101. Par. Clonelty, tld. Lissaniska West, sheet 36, 826:376. "Tobermeedy" (not in Gothic) on 1840 map. A clear strong spring in a well about six feet in diameter and four feet deep, faced with dry stone, in an enclosure overgrown with bushes, said to have been a burial ground. No tradition of devotions. The well is said to have moved from Moveedy townland. "A holy well dedicated to St Mida or Ida".—OSL.

102. Par. Killeedy, tld. Ballyshane, sheet 36, 308:154. "Banavaun well—Banbhán, a man's name".—OSNB. Still known to be a holy well, but there is no tradition of Banbhán and no devotions are made now. "A holy well . . . celebrated for curing lameness and blindness".—OSNB. "Banbhán is known by the people to be a saint, but they do not remember his festival day".—OSL.

103. Par. Killeedy, tld. Caherlevoy, sheet 52, 550:316. "Tobar a' Chrainn"—local name. Not on maps. A small well in a little grove of whitethorn. Rounds are still made, especially in May. Said to be dedicated to St Ita. Small religious objects left as offerings; formerly rags were left on the bushes and little crosses of rushes or wild iris blades were dropped into the well. Legend: A girl took water in ignorance and tried to boil it; when it would not boil and a little fish was seen in it, water and fish were returned to the well.

104. Par. Killeedy, tld. Killeedy North, sheet 44, 359:262. "St Ida's Well" on 1840 map. A very small well about eighteen inches in diameter and three feet deep, with a poor spring. The well is carefully faced with stone; the top stones are cut to shape the well orifice. In Killeedy graveyard. Beside the well are a small cross of ½-inch round iron bar, two grotesque stone heads, evidently capitals from the church ruin, and a small standing stone used as a "marking stone". Rounds are still made, especially on the 15th of January, the feast day of the saint. Formerly known for the cure of smallpox. "In summer the place is strewn with flowers—votive offerings of the pious pilgrims at the shrine of their beloved Patroness. It is much frequented by married women, who cultivate a special devotion to the Saint, and before leaving the church, perform a peculiar ceremony".—Begley, *The Diocese of Limerick, Ancient and Mediaeval,* 55. Legends: St Ita asked for a drink and was given lukewarm water; she threw this on the ground and the well sprang up. The water cannot be boiled.

105. Par. Killeedy, tld. Moanruemore, sheet 44, 787:435. "Tobergal" on 1840 map. "The White Well"—local. A strong clear spring about nine feet in diameter. No devotions, but said to have been a holy well formerly. Legend: the well moved when clothes were washed there.

106, 107. Par. Mahoonagh, tld. Ahawilk, sheet 45, 008:384. Two wells, "Tobereendoney" and "Tobermurry" on 1840 map. "Celebrated for curing blindness and rheumatism".—OSNB. Only one, locally called "the blessed well", is known now. There are no devotions.

108. Par. Mahoonagh, tld. Cooliska, sheet 37, 089:069. "Toberoanbastia" on 1840 map. "St John's Well"—local. A clear pool, about twenty feet in diameter, with clear bubbling springs. An old ash tree overhangs the well. The whole is surrounded by a wall, with a neat rounds-path and a statue of the saint. Rounds are made frequently. A pattern, with sports and horse-races, was held up to about 1850. Rags and small religious objects left as offerings. Legends: St Patrick struck the rock and water sprang out; the print of his knees are on the rock. The tree is over 1,500 years old, and wood from it will not burn. The water will not boil. A tramp washed his feet in the well and it moved. A blind girl saw a fish in the well and was cured.

109. Par. Monagay, tld. Meenyline South, sheet 43, 628:496. "Tobereenalaffina" on 1924 edition of 6-inch map. "The Ha'penny Well"—local. Rounds are still made, but only very seldom. The "well" is a hole, about two inches in diameter and three inches deep in a sloping rock surface on the edge of a little stream. The water appears to be seepage from the stream. Flowers were left as offerings, and small coins dropped into the "well". The water cures sore eyes. Legend: A man dreamed that his blindness would be cured here; he came and was cured.

110. Par. Monagay, tld. Rathcahill East, sheet 44, 147:568. "Lady's Well" on 1840 map. The well is enclosed by a wall which has an entrance door and three niches,

inside, for statues. A large willow tree formerly grew at the well. Rounds are made frequently. The water cures sore eyes and other ailments. Formerly a great pattern was held here on the 15th of August; this is still a day of special devotion, often with secular amusements, games, dancing, &c. Formerly rags were left on the tree; now coins are put in a collection box, for the upkeep of the well. Legends: The well moved when profaned. A woman in ignorance took water to boil, found a fish in the pot and returned fish and water to the well; the fish has not been seen since this.

111. Par. Monagay, tld. Shangarry, sheet 36, 305:279. "St Bridget's Well" on 1840 map. A strong clear spring enclosed by a circular wall, in a ring-fort. A path leading from the road to the well, the rounds path and a niche with a lifesize statue of the saint are of concrete. Rounds are often made, especially on 1st February; a pattern was held formerly on this day. Rags were left as offerings; now there is a collection box for coins. Candles are lit on 1st February and other days. The water cures sore eyes and other ailments. Legend: Saint Brighid converted a pagan chieftain who lived in the fort, and caused a well to spring up for the baptism.

112. Par. Monagay, tld. Tulligoline North, sheet 43, 352:483. "Toberreenadinnabocht" on 1924 edition of 6-inch map. "The Poor Man's Well"—local. A small well, built up and covered, on the roadside. Rounds made formerly, especially in May. The water cures sore eyes. Legend: a poor old blind man dreamed that he would be cured here, came and was cured—hence the name *Tobairín a' Duine Bhoicht*. Two cloaked women are seen before dawn at the well.

113. Par. Newcastle, tld. Castle Demesne, sheet 36, "St David's Well". "A holy well in the Earl of Devon's pleasure garden celebrated for curing those possessed by the fairies"—OSNB. The well still exists, in the garden of one of the houses in the town, but there are no traditions.

Glenquin Barony—Doubtful Wells

114. Par. Monagay, tld. Mountplummer, sheet 53. "St Broney's Well"; "in the townland of Mountplummer".—OSNB. No tradition of this well seems to have survived. It is not indicated on the maps.

Kenry Barony

115. Par. Adare, tld. Coolbaun, sheet 21, 172:554. "St Anne's Well"—local. A dry wall one and a half feet high encloses a space twelve feet in diameter; this contains the well (usually dry) and an old whitethorn tree. Known as a holy well, but no tradition of devotions there. Legend: The well moved when profaned. St Anne appeared and reproved a woman who went to wash clothes in it.

116. Par. Ardcanny, tld. Cartown, sheet 4, 058:115. "St Bridget's Well"—local. Beside the gate lodge of Cartown House. The well is in a little concrete cupola, and, with the rounds path and niches for statues, is enclosed by a concrete wall. Rounds are still made, especially on 1st February and Saturdays. The water is drunk and applied to afflicted eyes and limbs. A great many rags still hang at the well; small religious objects are left as offerings. Legends: The water cannot boil. A woman cured of blindness saw a fish in the well. A man brought a blind horse to the well; the horse was cured and the man became blind. Note: On the 1840 map "St Bridget's Well" is marked at a point 400 yards north of the present well.

117. Par. Kildimo, tld. Tobermurry, sheet 11, 806:466. "Tobermurry" on 1840 map. A slow spring surrounded by a wall of dry stone six feet in diameter and two feet high. Another well (not a holy well) is only two yards away. There are no devotions now. "Stations are occasionally performed at it".—OSL. Large crowds came "long ago" on 15th August. Legends: A fish is seen by those about to be cured. The water cannot boil.

118. Par. Kilcornan, tld. Stonehall, sheet 11, 805:160. "St Bridget's Well on 1840 map. In a little valley among limestone outcrops, a small clear spring covered by a masonry cupola with a life-size statue of the saint. A large whitethorn tree beside well. A wall encloses the well and rounds path. Rounds are often made, especially on 1st February. The water cures sore eyes and other ailments. Pebbles are used to count rounds. Small religious objects and rags as offerings. Legend: Saint Brighid prayed at this spot and the well sprang up.

Kenry Barony—Doubtful Wells

119. Par. Adare (or Kilcornan ?). "Toberveenanee—local. Tobar Beanuighthe, the blessed well. Situated in the Townland of Carra Chase. A well".—OSNB. No tradition of such a well in the locality.

Kilmallock Barony

120. Par. SS Peter and Paul, tld. Deebert, sheet 47, 866:451. "Toberreendoney" on 1840 map. A circular stone-lined well, on the roadside. Over it is a small statue of Our Lady in a small wooden niche, and a rough wooden cross. Devotions are still made, but not as often as formerly. The water cures sore eyes. Usually said to be dedicated to Our Lady. Legends: A trout is seen in well by those cured of eye ailments. A black dog appeared here, hence the local name "The Black Dog Well".

Kilmallock Barony—Doubtful Wells

121. Par. SS Peter and Paul, tld. Bawntard South, sheet 47, 061:494. "Tobernaguppaun" (not in Gothic) on 1840 map. "Reputedly a holy well".—WCL, 470.

122. Par. SS Peter and Paul, tld. Glenfield, sheet 47, 638:491. "Toberkinangle" on 1840 map. "Not inserted on plan, not known by the inhabitants as found by particular enquiry. It is. A Well. Holy Well on plan".—OSNB. From this entry in the *Name Books* it appears to have been doubtful even then. There is no tradition now.

Owneybeg Barony

123. Par. Abington, tld. Ballyvorheen, sheet 15, 329:533. "Tobermoria" on 1927 edition of 6-inch map. A small spring issuing beneath the roots of a willow tree, roughly built about with dry stone, in a little glade. Rounds are still made, though not as often as formerly. The water cures sore eyes. Dedicated to Our Lady. Legend: St Patrick blessed this well.

124. Par. Tuogh, tld. Dromalta, sheet 15, 395:069. "Toberbreedia" on 1840 map. A strong spring issuing from the rock, close to the demesne wall of Tower Hill. The water cures vomiting and sick stomach if taken fasting before daybreak. This well is said to have moved from a place several hundred yards away (tld. Tuogh, sheet 15, 399:133, marked "Bullaun" on 1927 edition of map), where the site is still pointed out. This is a stone (the "Bullaun" of the map) with a number of marks on it, said to be the print of the saint's knees. Rounds were made at this spot, and a pattern held up to about 1800. The story of the well having moved is recorded in OSNB; it is still commonly told.

Owneybeg Barony—Doubtful Wells

125. Par. Abington, tld. Ashroe, sheet 7, 005:420. "Holy Well" on 1840 map. Not known in the locality as a holy well. The entry in OSNB reads: "Hollywell—inhabitants. Holy? Is a spring well about 3 feet in diameter".

126. Par. Tuogh, tld. Tuogh, sheet 15, 481:107. "Tobernadiha" (not in Gothic) on 1840 map. There is a vague tradition in the district that this was formerly regarded as a holy well.

Pubblebrien Barony

127. Par. Croom, tld. Lisaleen, sheet 21, 498: top edge. "Sunday's Well" on 1840 map. This well was filled in about 1880. A large elm tree grows at the site of the well, which is in a farmyard. Embedded in the roots of the tree is an upright slab inscribed "IHS 1760 THOMAS BANKS" said to have been erected by a man who was cured of blindness here. "There are stations performed here by the peasantry on Sundays".—OSNB

128. Par. Kilkeedy, tld. Ballyanrahan East, sheet 12, 854:104. "St Patrick's Well" on 1840 map. This is the well which gives its name to Patrickswell village. The well was open formerly, with a great elm tree standing beside it. Formerly much visited, especially on 17th March. The water cured sores, toothache and other pains, also cattle. It was sprinkled on crops and churns. Rags, medals and drinking cups hung on the tree. Devotions ceased about 1890. About this time a pump was erected over the well; this has now been removed. A slab in the wall beside the well has a rough figure of St Patrick and is inscribed "Erected by Thos McNamara and S Breay". It seems to date from about the beginning of the 19th century. Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary*, ii, 459 "says it has recently been placed" there.

129. Par. Kilkeedy, tld. Tervoe, sheet 4, 705:053. 'St James' Well" on 1840 map. A well about six feet in diameter and four feet deep. Elder, ash and whitethorn trees grow about it. Rounds are still made, rags and small religious objects left as offerings. The water cures sore eyes and headaches. Pebbles are used to count the rounds. Formerly a pattern was held on 25th July. Legends: The water will not boil. The well moved when profaned. A fish is seen by those about to be cured. A faction fight at the pattern was stopped by St James appearing to the combatants.

130. Par. Killonahan, tld. Killonahan, sheet 21, 898:278. "St Sennan's Well (site of)" on 1840 map. "St Sennan's Well, now dried up; it was frequented as a holy well about 20 years since".—OSL. No tradition survives.

131. Par. Monasteranenagh, tld. Knocknagranshee, sheet 22, 192:071. "Toberlaghteen Holy Well" on 1840 map. A small masonry cupola, with a slab "This was erected by James Keating in ye year of our Lord 1791 that lived in Grangehill Pray for him". Now dry, but the spring breaks out just beside the cupola in a pool about three yards in diameter. A great ash tree overhangs the well. Devotions formerly on 19th March. None now. The water cured eye ailments. Now provided water for domestic use and cattle. Rags were hung on tree as offerings. Legend: the well moved when profaned.

132. Par. Mungret, tld. Skehacreggaun, sheet 13, 154:501. "Toberpatrick" on 1840 map. A well about eight feet square and seven feet deep, with a flight of steps leading down to water level. No devotions now. "There are no stations performed here".—OSNB. Legends: The well lost its virtues when a woman washed clothes in it.

133. Par. Saint Michael's, tld. Rossbrien, sheet 13, 429:529. "St Dominick's Well" on 1920 revision of 6-inch map. A small well, about four feet deep, with steps leading down. No devotions now; it was much visited for the cure of eye ailments. Legends: Travelling showman washed a bear in the well, and it dried up.

Pubblebrien Barony—Doubtful Wells

134. "Toberivy—locally known. Near the mail coach road from Limerick to Cork, 1½ miles from the former. An excellent spring said to have been a Holy Well".—OSNB.

Shanid Barony

135. Par. Ardagh, tld. Ministersland, sheet 28, 447:229. "St Molua's Well" on 1840 map. A small clear spring, covered by a square cupola of cut limestone. Devotions have ceased, but were practised within living memory. A pattern was held formerly on the 4th August. A very large ash tree grew at the well; it has long since disappeared.

136. Par. Dunmoylan, tld. Gortadroma, sheet 18, 778: 097. "Toberreendoney" on 1840 map. A small clear spring, overhung by an old thorn tree. A few old people have made the rounds recently, but the devotion has almost died out. Rags were left as offerings, and nails driven in the tree.

137. Par. Kilbradran, tld. Lissatotan, sheet 19, 690:105. "St Colman's Well" or "Coley's Well"—local. Not on maps. A little well with a good spring. The water has a slightly unpleasant taste and stains the stones yellow. The water cures stomach disorders. It should be drunk while fasting in the early morning. No devotions now, but formerly, according to local tradition, rounds were made there.

138. Par. Kilcolman, tld. Kilcolman, sheet 19, 284:074. "Tobercolman" on 1840 map. A slow spring enclosed in a square structure of masonry, with a slab "St Coleman's Well, enclosed 15th August, 1868". Rounds are still made, but seldom. Rounds made partly at the well and partly at the graveyard, about 400 yards south of the well, where there is a "marking stone". A pattern was held formerly on 29th October. The water cured many diseases; the stone in the churchyard cured headaches. Legend: The well moved when profaned. A woman taking water for profane use saw a human hand in the well.

139. Par. Kilmoylan, tld. Tinnakilla, sheet 18, 307:241. "Tobercloonagh" on 1840 map. A clear spring, built about with stone and clay, and roofed with flagstones. "A Holy Well".—OSNB. No tradition survives.

140. Par. Kilmoylan, tld. Tubbrid, sheet 19, 598:298. "St Bridget's Well" on 1923 edition of 6-inch map. A clear strong spring issuing from cracks in the limestone rock surface. "St Bridgid's Holy Well is situated here, but latterly it has been abandoned".—OSNB. No devotions now, but known to have been a holy well. Legend: The well moved when profaned.

141. Par. Loghill, tld. Loghill, sheet 9, 581:062. "St Colmóg's Well" on 1840 map. A small spring well about 100 yards north of Loghill graveyard. It was famous for the cure of sore eyes. Rounds are still made, but not often. Rags, coins and small religious objects left as offerings. Legend: the well moved when profaned.

142. Par. Rathronan, tld. Gortnagross, sheet 34, 807:381. "Tobar Mhíchíl"—old inhabitants. Now used to supply water to Athea. An old man, born in 1816, stated that his grandfather used to make rounds at this well.

143. Par. Rathronan, tld. Templeathea West, sheet 34, top right. "Tobermurry" on 1840 map. A spring well. Enclosed and embellished with statues of Our Lady, St John the Baptist and St Bartholemew. Rounds are still made frequently. Days of special devotion are 25th March, 1st May, 24th June, 15th August and 24th August and the Saturdays before these dates. Formerly a pattern was held on 24th August, the feast of St Bartholemew, the patron of the ecclesiastical parish of Athea, but was discontinued in the 1880's. The water cures many afflictions; rags and small religious objects are left as offerings and there is a collection box for coins. Legends: The well moved when profaned. A trout is seen by the suppliant whose request will be granted. The well sprang up on the spot where a woman died during a famine. The water will not boil. A blind horse was brought to make the rounds; the horse was cured and the owner blinded. A treasure, guarded by a phantom bull, is buried near the well.

144. Par. Robertstown, tld. Craggs, sheet 10, 482:098. "Borrigone Well" on 1841 map. A clear spring situated below high spring tide level in a creek of the Shannon. The water is often salty, from the tide water. Formerly the well was covered by high tides, and people sometimes made the rounds wading in the water. Now the well is enclosed and surrounded by a concrete platform. Rounds are still made but not as frequently as formerly. The water cures many ailments; rags used to be left as offerings. A great pattern was held formerly on 14th-15th August, when large bonfires were lit and both devotions and merrymaking continued all night. Other days of devotion were the Saturdays before 1st May and 24th June. Legends: The well moved when profaned. Water will not boil. A trout lives in the well, and is seen by those whose requests are to be granted. A voice from the well reproved a woman who went to wash clothes there. A blind horse was taken, in mockery, to the well; horse cured and owner blinded. A girl going to America took pebbles from the well; during a storm she threw the pebbles into the sea; the storm ceased and the pebbles returned to the well.

145. Par. Robertstown, tld. Knockpatrick, sheet 10, 065:062. "St Patrick's Well" on 1840 map. The well, which is covered by a concrete structure supporting a statue of the saint, the rounds path and some whitethorn trees are all surrounded by a wall. Rounds are still made. Formerly large crowds came on 17th March. The water cures sore eyes and other ailments. Rags are left as offerings. Legends: The well moved when profaned. The saint's curse on sinner's was transferred to birds; a dead bird is found on certain days at the well. A druid tried to poison the saint here. The saint left a gold cup at the well.

146. Par. Shanagolden, tld. Shangolden Demesne. "It is said that St Senan's Well was situated in this churchyard, but was closed up by the casting in of gravel and other rubbish". OSNB. No tradition survives.

Shanid Barony—Doubtful Wells

147. Par. Dunmoylan, tld. Dunmoylan. "Dunmoylan church . . . near it is Tobereendoney well"—WCL, 398. No such well is known in the locality.

148. Par. Kilbradran, tld. Ballyan, sheet 19, 822:316. "Tobersive" on 1840 map. "Tobernahillagh (site of)" on 1923 edition. The well has disappeared and no tradition survives.

149. Par. Rathronan, tld. Templeathea West, sheet 34, 813:498. "St Bartholemew's Well". A spring close to the site of the old (prior to 1830) mass house in Athea village. A vague tradition that this was a holy well dedicated to St Bartholemew.

Small County Barony

150. Par. Ballinlough, tld. Ballinlough, sheet 32, 868:480. "St Bridget's Well" on 1840 map. A slow spring, enclosed in a concrete canopy, on the roadside. A small ash tree grows beside the well. Rounds were made up to recently, but hardly ever now. The water cured eye ailments; it was visited especially on 1st February and on

May Eve. Rags were left as offerings. Legends: The well moved when profaned. St Brighid, on her travels, was refused a drink of water; she struck the ground and the well sprang up.

151. Par. Ballinlough, tld. Ballinlough, sheet 32, right edge:437. "St James' Well" on 1840 map. A small well in an open field. Still known as a holy well, but devotions have long since ceased. The water cured stomach pains.

152. Par. Fedamore, tld. Fedamore, sheet 22, 678:195. "St John's Well" on 1840 map. This well has disappeared; its spring, apparently, now supplies a pump. No surviving tradition.

153. Par. Hospital, tld. Millfarm, sheet 32, 783:043. "St John's Well (site of)" on 1927 edition of 6-inch map. Now forms part of Hospital waterworks. Devotions ceased over fifty years ago. Rounds were made formerly and a bush (now gone) beside the well was hung with rags. The water cured eye ailments. Legends: The well moved when profaned. A trout was seen by people cured at the well. An unbeliever brought a blind horse to the well; the horse was cured and he was blinded.

154. Par. Kilfrush, tld. Kilfrush, sheet 33, 847:430. "St Bridget's Well" on 1840 map. Tradition in the district is unanimous in calling this "St Colman's Well" and not "St Bridget's Well". OSL gives "Tobar Colmáin, S. Colman's Well", but OSNB gives "St Bridget's Holy Well". No second well is known in tradition. The well has a good spring of clear water. Formerly a large tree stood over the well, but this has been felled in recent years, and the water piped away to provide drinking water for cattle. All devotion has ceased, although the well was formerly very popular. The water cured eye ailments, and rags were left on the tree as offerings.

155. Par. Kilpeacon, tld. Kilpeacon, sheet 22, 346:497. "St Patrick's Well" on 1840 map. The spring still flows in an open field, but is defaced by cattle trampling. Still known as a holy well, but devotions have ceased. "Frequented as a holy well in the present time".—OSL. Legend: Pilgrims saw a figure of St Patrick in the well.

156. Par. Kilteely, tld. Kildromin, sheet 33, 027:536. "St Bridget's Well"—local name. This well was first noted by O'Kelly, *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, 1944, 17. "Dedicated to St Bridget. Devotion to it has ceased but was revived in 1940 on St Bridget's Day. Original ritual is not known. The well is badly kept and is much damaged by cattle". Not on maps. Legend: St Brighid, refused a drink, struck the ground and the well sprang up.

157. Par. Knockainey, tld. Knockainey West, sheet 32, 559:009. "St Mary's Well" on 1927 edition of 6-inch map. This well has disappeared and its former existence is known to very few in the district.

158. Par. Knockainey, tld. Milltown, sheet 40, 177:591. "Toberaclareena" on 1840 map. The well is on the south side of the road, about five feet below road level, and reached from the road by a flight of steps. It is now dry and overgrown by bushes and briers. The spring issues on the north side of the road and is sometimes used for domestic purposes. Old people in the district remember rounds being made, and rags hanging on the bushes, but devotions have long since ceased.

159. Par. Knockainey, tld. Patrickswell, sheet 32, 317:289. "St Patrick's Well" on 1840 map. The well is enclosed in a small rectangular structure of masonry; over the opening is a slab with I H S and two crude angel figures. Close by are two small ponds and a mound, called "St Patrick's Bed" on which a tree grows. Three other trees stand close to the well. Devotions are still practised, especially on St Patrick's Day. The pilgrims usually make nine rounds of the well and five of the "Bed"; pebbles are used to tally the rounds. Water from the well and from each of the two ponds is drunk and carried away to be drunk at home. The water cures eye and stomach ailments and headaches; it is often brought to refresh those who are ill. Small religious objects, coins and flowers are left as offerings. Legends: Water from the well cannot boil. A fish was seen by people cured at the well. A woman who broke a branch from a tree by the well was reproved by a voice from the well. A man cut away portions of one of the trees; he was struck blind, but repented and was cured at the well. St Patrick blessed the well and baptized converts there; he slept on the mound called the "Bed".

160. Par. Knockainey, tld. Rathanny, sheet 40, 533:500. "Tobergobbun" on 1840 map. "Tobar Ghobáin, St Gobban's Well".—OSNB. A shallow well, four feet in diameter, with a moderate spring. "This well is remarkable for the curing of many diseases, there is a treasure supposed to be hidden here which is guarded by a serpent". —OSNB. No devotions now, but known to have been a holy well. Rounds were

made for the cure of eye ailments. A wooden piggin was left at the well for the use of pilgrims.

161. Par. Uregare, tld. Bulgalden Hall, sheet 40, 209:141. "St Patrick's Well" on 1840 map. A small well, roughly lined with stone. Some trees and bushes grow around it. No devotions now, but formerly visited for the cure of coughs and colds. St Patrick's Day was a day of special devotion. Legends: The well moved when profaned. St Patrick blessed the well. A Protestant lady threw in some silver coins as an offering; an impious Catholic drained the well to get the money, which he spent on drink, but was struck dead as he left the tavern.

Small County Barony—Doubtful Wells

162. Par. Hospital, tld. Oldtown (Bennet), sheet 33, 022:062. "Toberahoundree" on 1928 edition of 6-inch map. The well is now defaced by cattle trampling, and no tradition survives, except a very vague one that it was "some sort of blessed well".

163. Par. Kilcullane, tld. Herbertstown (Powell), sheet 32, 469:422. "Tobar Cilleán"—local (cf. Parish name). A large pool, about three yards in diameter, with a strong bubbling spring and a stream flowing away. No memory of any devotions. Children go to the well and say "Tobar Cilleán, boil up, boil up! 'tis a long time since I came to see you".

Other Named Wells

In Co. Limerick, as in most parts of Ireland, wells are usually named, especially those which supplied water to a number of households. Many of these names are to be found in the Ordnance Survey documents and maps, but many others have not been recorded. Some wells are named from the locality, as Bresheen Well (Bresheen), Garbally Well (Garbally), while, conversely, a number of places are named from wells; four townland names in the county come from wells which are not otherwise recorded, Toberagarrif (Abington), Toberyquin (Cahervally), Ballintober (Killeedy) and Ballintubbrid (Mongay).

May wells derive their names from characteristics or associations, for example Tobermore = the big well (Kilfinane), Tobernaskeha = the bush well (Grean), Toberavoher = the road well (Kilbreedy Major). In some cases there is a story to explain the name. Toberagaddy = the robber's well (Abington) gets its name because a robber was killed there; Tobernashesree = the plough-team well (Rathjordan) sprang up at a spot where a plough-team was swallowed into the ground. But there are many names about which no tradition survives.

Perhaps the most common form of name is that which comes from a personal name, such as Connor's Well (Croom) or Kinlowen's Well (Mahoonagh); the personal name is usually the name of the present or former owner of the farm in which the well is situated. A few, such as King William's Well (Singland) have historical associations.

In general, we may say that the name alone, unsupported by other evidence, cannot always be taken as an indication that this is a holy well. Tobar a' Chrainn, The Cillíneach Well and Toberreenadinnabocht (nos. 103, 100 and 112 above) are holy wells; Tobernaskeha, Toberavoher and Toberagaddy are not holy wells. And since the Gaelic usage seldom includes the designation *naomh* (saint) in the name of the well, even personal names are not always a sure guide. Thus Tobar Phádraig may mean either Saint Patrick's Well, or merely Patrick's Well, and while there is no doubt about such names as Tobersmith (Kilfinane) or Tobervilliers (Kilpeacon) there may be some doubt about such names as Toberaine (Abington) or Toberowen (Kilfinane).

THE DUNKELLIN BARROW GROUP

By Peter McCaffrey

A GROUP of earthen ' ring-barrows ' recorded in an archaeological survey of the Barony of Dunkellin, Co. Galway, in 1950-1952, were amongst the most interesting of the almost 600 surviving sites surveyed.[1]

The region in question is the westernmost maritime extension of the central Irish lowland. The geographical position of the barony is roughly coincident with a triangle having sides south to north from the village of Kinvarra via Oranmore to Claregalway; northwest to southeast from Claregalway to the vicinity of Loughrea; east to west from Loughrea to Kinvarra. The maximum length (from north to south) is about 15 miles, its greatest breadth (from east to west) about 18 miles. In area, the barony comprises some 135 square miles.

The landscape is that of a typical limestone region. Save in a small eastern appendix, cutting into the northern flank of the Slieve Aughty hills, where it attains a maximum height of about 700 feet, the barony nowhere rises even to 400 feet above O.D. The carboniferous limestone is often exposed over Karstic tracts devoid of human habitation today. Elsewhere, the drift cover, which is rarely more than a few feet thick, is very thin. Turloughs, sink holes and underground drainage abound, as in the contiguous turlough region of central County Clare. Bogs are rare and nowhere of significant extent. Particularly in the Oranmore-Clarinbridge-Craughwell area the surface is diversified by Eskers, the two principal series of which run north-south and east-west respectively. By and large, it is a well drained, light soiled region with a characteristic farming economy. But this is by nature primarily a pastoralist's country and livestock is the major industry. The light limestone soils afford excellent dry pastures.

The well drained, easily cleared soils convenient to coastal inlets must have been attractive to early food-producers. When we remember that even today the local rivers, viz., the Dunkellin (or Kilcolgan); the Ballynamanagh; the Craughwell; the Monksfield and St. Clerans abound

[1] '*A Contribution to the Archæology of the Barony of Dunkellin, Co. Galway*', unpublished thesis, McCaffrey, U.C.G.; 1952.

RING BARROWS
NCH SHEETS

IIN, CO. GALWAY

RROW

D.

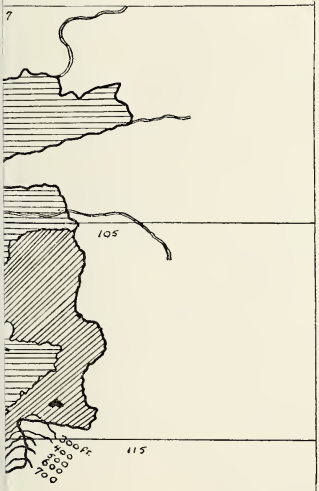
200 TO 300

300 TO 400

RIVERS

6

4 = THREE FOURTHS
LE



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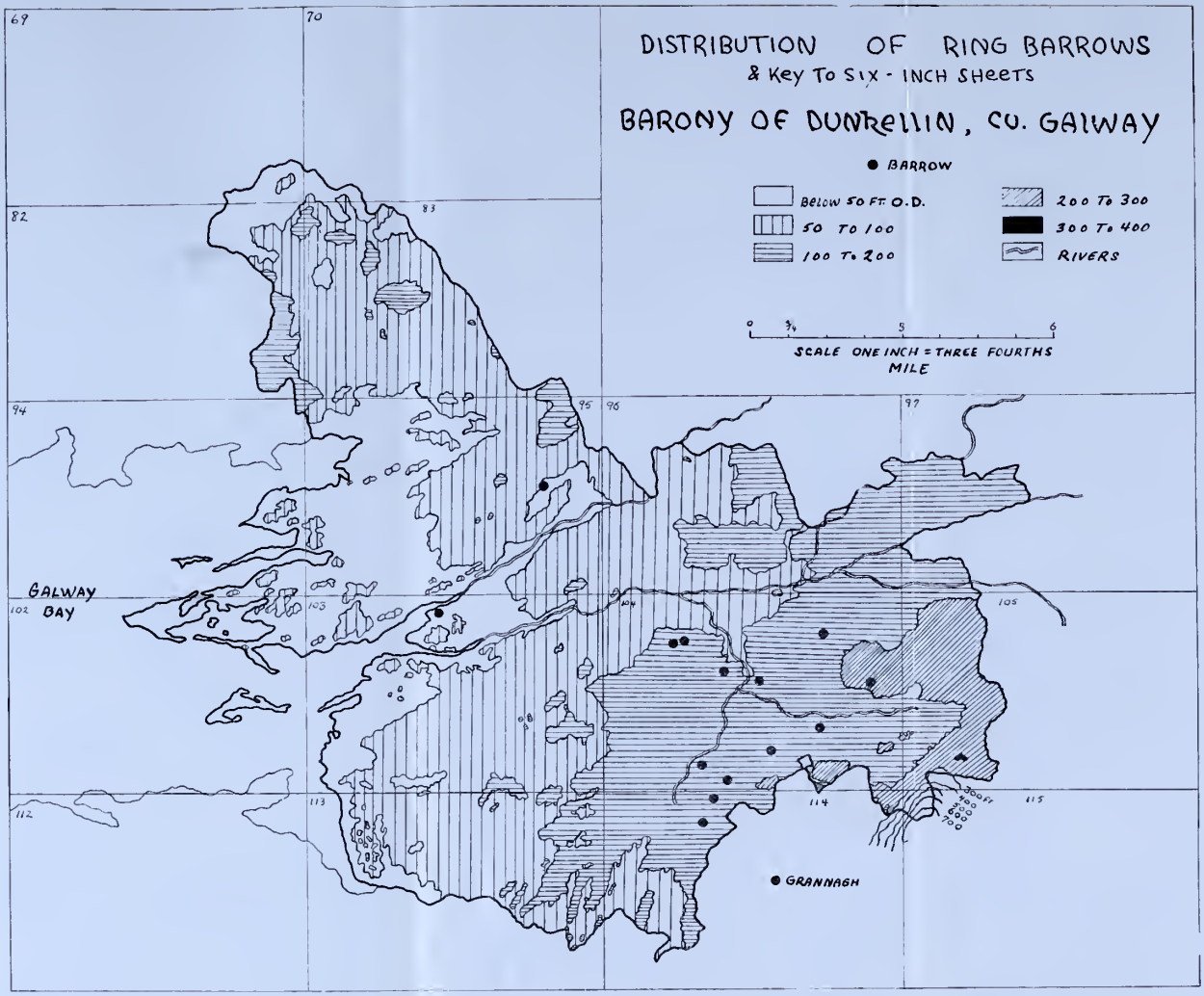

FIG. 1

in salmon; while the waters of Galway Bay offer a rich harvest of oysters, winkles, cockles and other fish, we would have every reason for expecting to find here abundant evidence of human activities from earliest prehistoric times onwards.

The fourteen Dunkellin barrows are well preserved, distinct field monuments. It is possible that sub-classes should rightly be distinguished. In the absence of excavation, however, sub-classification is impossible, for superficially any mutual differences which happen to exist merge imperceptibly together, while the issue is always complicated by recalling the allowance that must be made for denudation and destruction.

The most obvious variations are ones of scale, and are well exemplified by the range of diameters, viz., from as little as 42 feet to as much as 122 feet overall. The diameters of the barrows proper ranging from 20 feet to 70 feet. (For profiles of some of the barrows see fig. 2).

The features common to all fourteen monuments are:

(i) The barrow proper is round, low and more or less flat-topped.

(ii) The barrow proper is surrounded by a *fosse* with a low external bank through which there is no entrance.

To these we may add that there is a certain preference for sites on the relatively higher ground, more particularly for low eskers. We find two barrows sited below 50 feet O.D.; eleven between 100 and 200 feet; one between 200 and 300 feet. The distribution represents something in the nature of a concentration in the southern part of the barony, in the midst of the finest tillage land of the region. (See fig. 1).

As a type these tumuli generally appear to resemble the 'saucer-barrows' of English archaeology as defined by Grinsell[2] (1938,89; cf. idem., 1936,25; also 1941,73 ff). It is becoming clearer that in Ireland tumuli of this sort are amongst the most numerous and widespread of our field monuments, so numerous indeed and so widespread both in cultural and geographical range as to warn us of the possibility that we are dealing here with a complex phenomenon.

In 1916, Macalister[3] (1916-17,508 ff) excavated a typical example of the smaller variety at Grannagh, Co. Galway, sited just south of the barony border (fig. 1) which is identical with the Dunkellin group, in fact, part of the same complex. The barrow at Grannagh lies at the foot of an imposing ringfort or rath scarped out of a natural hillock which dominates the surrounding landscape. This monument is described as being 51 feet 4 inches overall diameter, the barrow proper 17 feet 6 inches in diameter and 2 feet high. Macalister declared Grannagh to be of Iron Age date. The principal finds were three scattered unprotected cremations

[2]Grinsell, L. V. 1938; 89, cf. idem. 1936; 25, *The Ancient Burial Mounds of Britain*.
'The Bronze Age Round Barrows of Wessen' *PPS* 7 (1941), 73 ff.

[3]Macalister, 'A Report of some Excavations Recently Conducted in Co. Galway'. *PRIA* 33C (1916-17), 508 ff.

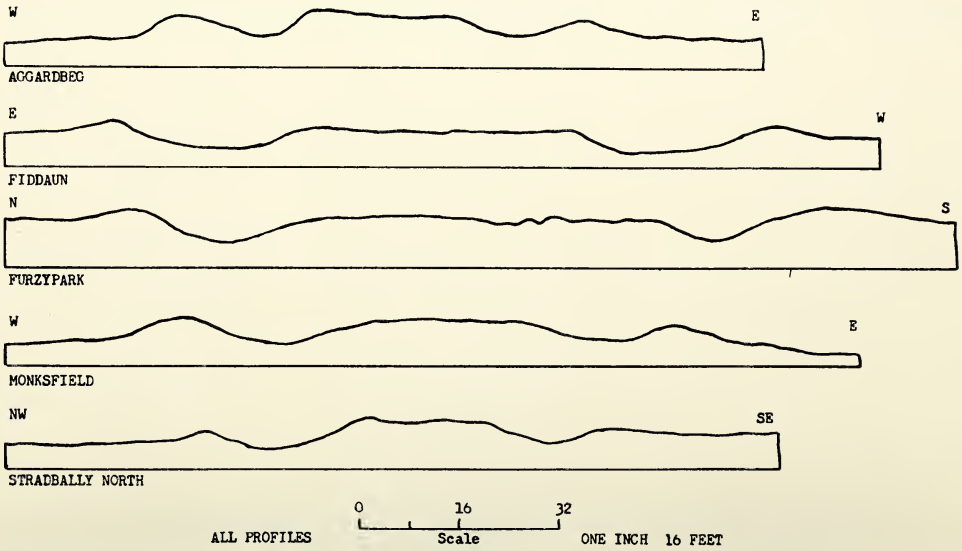
W
E
AGGARDBEG
E
W
FIDDAUN
N
S
FURZYPARK
W
E
MONKSFIELD
NW
SE
STRADBALLY NORTH
0
16
32
ALL PROFILES
Scale
ONE INCH 16 FEET

FIG. 2.

a

b

c

Dunkellin barrow group: (*a*) ring-barrow at Grannagh, Co. Galway, from west; (*b*) ring-barrow at Aggardbeg, barony of Dunkellin, from south; (*c*) ring-barrow at Monksfield, barony of Dunkellin, from south-west

and some glass beads. Two of our barrows, viz., Aggardbeg and Ballybaun are also sited close to a rath or ringfort. The connection of the barrows, if any, with these monuments is of course not apparent in the absence of excavation.

Despite the variations in scale as well as certain matters of detail, the Dunkellin barrows present to the field observer (disregarding those mutilated by agricultural operations) a certain uniformity of characteristics which, as a group, do not readily admit close analogy to many of the excavated examples of Irish 'ring-barrows'.[4] We note especially the upland, or at any rate, dry siting; absence of an entrance; relative width of the *fosse* and the absence of a cemetery grouping.

In many respects, the barrows scattered on the gently rolling terrain of Dunkellin form an interesting group. Especially puzzling is the presence of the stone lined 'troughs' in the largest of the group, i.e., Furzypark. As the problem of Irish 'ring-barrows' is a complex one, this group may, upon excavation, shed more light on the many questions necessarily left unanswered by our present knowledge of this class of monument.

GAZETTEER OF DUNKELLIN 'RING-BARROWS'

The sites are arranged in alphabetical order of the relevant townland names. Each map reference is normally fixed by intersecting co-ordinates from two adjacent margins of the six-inch to one mile Ordnance Survey sheets. Where sites are marked by the Ordnance Survey, the fact is indicated by citing the date(s) of the relevant edition(s) of the six-inch sheet in question.

In addition, the University College, Galway, serial numbers of the sites on each sheet are given. The vertical heights are measured from the internal barrow proper, on a radius to the surrounding bank. Usually the condition of the barrow has determined the compass point at which the vertical measurements have been made in each case.

AGGARDBEG I: OS 104, W 14.5″ × N 9.5″ (1939); Site No. 26.

Between 100 and 200 feet O.D.
Overall diameter 75 feet.
Width of barrow 28 „
„ „ fosse 14 „
„ „ bank 8 „
Height of barrow above fosse on west 3 feet.
„ „ bank „ „ „ „ 2 „ 6 inches.
„ „ „ „ field surface 2 „

Definitely flat-topped; there is a rectangular disturbance at top centre. The northeast quadrant of the bank is gone, the barrow proper somewhat disturbed in the same area. There is an appreciable quantity of stones in the make-up of the barrow and bank, besides considerable quantities of yellow clay. The bank is very well preserved on the west side where it appears as a bold profile rising steeply from the ground outside. The fosse is not clearly distinguishable in the northeast quadrant (same area as bank destruction).

[4]However, see Raftery, 'The Tumulus Cemetery of Carrowjames, Co. Mayo'. Part II, Carrowjames II. *JGHAS* 19 (1940-41) 16 ff. His T4 and T8 are comparable with the Dunkellin examples.

Knox, in numerous papers, has noted typical examples in the Counties Roscommon, Mayo and Galway, labelling them the 'Rathcroghan type'. Westropp has also observed similar examples in County Clare.

This barrow is sited on the low end of an esker ridge, the ground rises steadily towards the south. On the west side of the barrow it drops abruptly about 20 feet. This barrow is 112 feet southwest of a ringfort (Site No. 25) in the same townland. This site first mentioned by Knox, "Dumha Brosna" *JRSAI* V. 44 (1914) page 352.

BALLYBAUN: OS 104, E 4″ × N 10.7″ (1839; 1933); Site No. 55.

(Killogilleen Ph.) Between 200 and 300 feet O.D.

Overall diameter 121 feet.
Width of barrow 58 „
„ „ fosse 17 „
„ „ bank 15 „

Height of barrow above fosse on east 1 foot 4 inches.
„ „ bank „ „ „ „ 2 „ 6 „
„ „ „ field surface 1 „ 8 „

This barrow is about 110 feet southeast of a ringfort (Site No. 54) in the same townland. The whole barrow was under cultivation at one time, as the traces of denuded cultivation ridges can be seen. Hence it portrays a flattened profile.

BALLYNAMANNIN: 'Lisheen': OS 104, E 17.6″ × N 10.6″ (1839; 1933).

Site No. 66. Between 100 and 200 feet O.D.

Overall diameter 62 feet.
Width of barrow 17 „
„ „ fosse 14 „
„ „ bank 8 „

Height of barrow above fosse on west 2 feet 4 inches.
„ „ bank „ „ „ „ 2 „ 7 inches.
„ „ „ „ field surface 2 „ 4 inches.

Marked on the OS map as 'Lisheen'. Mr. John Joe McGrath, the proprietor of the land, calls it the 'lios'. About 25 years ago, this same man cut a gap of 8½ feet through the bank on the southwest side. The bank consists of yellow clay and light brown soil and has occasional flecks of charcoal in it. Under the bank, at ground level in the gap proper a blackish deposit was found. McGrath also removed a small segment of the barrow proper on the east side. The barrow is flat-topped, shows signs of having been dug into on the north and at the centre. The bank is also despoiled on the west side. Another artificial entrance through the bank on the northeast is 9 feet wide.

As the bank appears to have been abraided in many places, the ditch is widened as a result. There are stones in the make-up of the barrow as in Aggardbeg and Moyveela.

Local soil-stratification (according to the proprietor) consists of about 7 to 8 inches of topsoil, underlain by 'yellow clay' to a depth of 1 or 2 inches and underneath this again, gray sand. The land dries quickly, is first-class tillage land of 'medium soil'.

CAHERDUFF: OS 104, W 11.5″ × S 3″ (1839); Site No. 136.

Between 100 and 200 feet O.D.

Overall diameter 67 feet.
Width of barrow 29 „
„ „ fosse 11 „
„ „ bank 8 „

Height of barrow above fosse on east 3 feet 2 inches.
„ „ bank „ „ „ „ 2 „
„ „ „ „ field surface 1 „

The whole western part of this barrow has been destroyed by the adjacent railway. Sited on dry but not appreciably high land.

FIDDAUN: OS 104, W 14.8″ × S 1.4″ (1839; 1933); Site No. 143.

Between 100 and 200 feet O.D.

Overall diameter 120 feet.
Width of barrow 55 „
„ „ fosse 15 „
„ „ bank 17 „
Height of barrow above fosse on east 3 feet 2 inches.
„ „ bank „ „ „ „ 3 „ 8 inches.
„ „ „ „ field surface 2 „ 8 inches.

This barrow is overgrown with furze, etc. The barrow proper is flat-topped, and does not appear to have been tampered with. Make-up of barrow not apparent. The bank is denuded in a few places and appears to have an appreciable proportion of stones. An excellent site for excavation.

FURZYPARK: OS 114, W 13.2″ × N 1″ (1922); Site No. 9.

Between 100 and 200 feet O.D.

Overall diameter 122 feet.
Width of barrow 70 „
„ „ fosse 15 „
„ „ bank 12 „
Height of barrow above fosse on north 3 feet.
„ „ bank „ „ „ „ 5 „ 6 inches.
„ „ „ „ field surface 1 „ 4 inches.

The bank is well preserved, denuded in a few places, especially on the outer edge. The ditch is well preserved. Tree stumps, furze, etc. mask to some extent this site.

The barrow proper appears to be flat-topped, but is pitted in a number of places superficially by rodents and apparently by digging. On the northern and western sides of the barrow proper, the action of rabbits has uncovered what may be called a 'trough' rather than a cist leading towards the centre of the barrow. Due to the small aperture now open, I was able to measure, on the west side, a passage some 9 feet in length; 10 inches wide and 10 inches high (although the bottom of this passage is littered with small stones and may be deeper). The passage is constructed of dry stone walling with lintels on top. The remains of another passage can be seen on the north side of the barrow, where the lintels can be seen.

On the general situation: it is on high land, not on the highest of the vicinity, but well above a large low-lying marshy bottom. Like Fiddaun this site is eminently suitable for excavation.

LAKYLE: OS 104, E 9.9″ × S 7.9″ (1839; 1933); Site No. 84.

Between 100 and 200 feet O.D.

Overall diameter 58 feet.
Width of barrow 28 „
„ „ fosse 8 „
„ „ bank 8 „
Height of barrow above fosse on south 3 feet.
„ „ bank „ „ „ „ 1 „ 8 inches.
„ „ „ „ field surface 2 „ 4 inches.

The barrow does not appear as if originally flat-topped (was probably bowl-shaped?) The bank is visible all around, is denuded and lowered in places, especially north, northeast, south.

Stones protrude here and there in the bank and several from the barrow proper. The barrow seems to have been dug away in places. A stone set on edge near the centre of the barrow measures 21 inches long by 4 inches thick. There seems to be another one set on edge nearby (a cist?).
The barrow is sited on the lower south end of an esker which falls away steeply to the south of the barrow.

LISNAGLOOS: OS 104, E 9.7″ × N 7.5″ (not on OS maps); Site No. 39a.

Between 100 and 200 feet O.D.

Overall diameter 42 feet.
Width of barrow 20 „
„ „ fosse 6 „
„ „ bank 6 „

Height of barrow above fosse on east 2 feet 3 inches.
„ „ bank „ „ „ „ 1 „
„ „ „ „ field surface 1 „ 6 inches.

This barrow is very much denuded, particularly on the west and the north. The bank is almost entirely gone everywhere. The barrow lies on the summit of a bold conspicuous esker, which is the highest point for a considerable distance around. A large limestone boulder protrudes from the fosse on the southwest side. A large block of limestone protrudes from the surface of the barrow proper on the northwest edge.

There are the possible remains of a smaller tumulus of the same type contiguous to, if not conjoined to the certain tumulus on its western side.

MONKSFIELD: OS 104, E 16″ × S 4.9″ (1933); Site No. 146.

Between 100 and 200 feet O.D.

Overall diameter 88 feet.
Width of barrow 36 „
„ „ fosse 15 „
„ „ bank 11 „

Height of barrow above fosse on west 2 feet 7 inches.
„ „ bank „ „ „ „ 4 „
„ „ „ „ field surface 3 „

The make-up of the bank shows much stone. The fosse appears to be very wide, ornamental trees were planted there in the 18th or 19th century. The barrow is flat-topped. The barrow is situated on relatively low land, as compared to rising ground to the south. Due to quarrying or digging, a portion of the bank is gone on the southwest side.

MOYVEELA: OS 95, E 7.1″ × N 10.9″ (1839; 1920); Site No. 50b.

Below 50 feet O.D.

Overall diameter 70 feet.
Width of barrow 29 „
„ „ fosse 8 „
„ „ bank 11 „

Height of barrow above fosse on north 2 feet.
„ „ bank „ „ „ „ 3 „
„ „ „ „ field surface 2 „ 9 inches.

Situated on a slight height, in a great basin, the ground sloping particularly to north, south and east. The ground to the north is studded with limestone outcrops. The ground at the west side slopes away steeply to appreciably lower ground. This lower ground may have been wet in times past.

The top of the barrow is flat. Stones are embedded in the make-up of the barrow and the bank. Cultivation ridges appear in the field in which the barrow is situated and come up to the bank on the south side. The eastern portion of the bank is destroyed, and here too, the cultivation ridges come up to the remains of the broken bank. They do not encroach on the barrow proper or on the bank to the south, west and north.

RAHASANE I: OS 104, W 9.4″ × N 5.9″ (1933); Site No. 19a.

Between 100 and 200 feet O.D.

Overall diameter 43 feet.
Width of barrow 23 „
„ „ fosse 4 „
„ „ bank 6 „
Height of barrow above fosse on north 1 foot.
„ „ bank „ „ „ „ 1 „
„ „ „ „ field surface, negligible.

Cultivation ridges visible outside of the barrow appear to have crossed, levelling this site.

RAHASANE II: OS 104, W 9.5″ × N 5.8″ (1933); Site No. 19b.

Between 100 and 200 feet O.D.

Overall diameter 75 feet.
Width of barrow 47 „
„ „ fosse 5 „
„ „ bank 9 „
Height of barrow above fosse on east 1 foot.
„ „ bank „ „ „ „ 1 „
„ „ „ „ field surface, negligible.

Situated within 80 feet of Rahasane I, overgrown with furze, etc. not photographable. Spade cultivation has taken place in times past right across the site and on the slight hill in which both barrows are situated. The south and west sides of the barrow are full of small pits. The barrow is further destroyed by an old ditch cutting across the southern part of the barrow and bank. Both Rahasane I and II have suffered greatly from agricultural operations.

RATHBAUN: OS 114, W 12″ × N 4″ (1839; 1922); Site No. 21.

Between 100 and 200 feet O.D.

Overall diameter 95 feet.
Width of barrow 40 „
„ „ fosse 14 „
„ „ bank 14 „
Height of barrow above fosse on east 2 feet.
„ „ bank „ „ „ „ 1 „
„ „ „ „ field surface 2 „

This barrow is situated on the southern end of a small esker, the ground falling away steeply to the south.

STRADBALLY NORTH: OS 103, W 15.8″ × N 1.3″ (1933); Site No. 16a.

Below 50 feet O.D.

Overall diameter 69 feet.
Width of barrow 36 „
„ „ fosse 12 „
„ „ bank 5 „
Height of barrow above fosse on west 4 feet 6 inches.
„ „ bank „ „ „ „ 2 „ 3 inches.
„ „ „ „ field surface 1 „

This barrow is sited on well drained land which further to the north dips down to an inlet of Dunbulcaun Bay. The barrow proper is higher than others of this class.

MISCELLANEA

TWO CHARTERS OF PRINCE JOHN, LORD OF IRELAND

IT may be useful to put on record the present whereabouts (about which there has been some obscurity) of two of Prince John's charters.

The first of these is John's confirmation of Henry II's grant of his city of Dublin to his men of Bristol. It was given at Kildare in 1185 when John was in Ireland, and was formerly among the muniments of the city of Dublin. It was transcribed in the seventeenth century in the Dublin Recorder's Book. From this Gilbert printed it in his *Historic and Municipal Documents of Ireland* (1870), p. 49, with two small errors in transcription.[1] Gilbert noted in his preface (p. vii) that the original was sold at Sotheby's in March, 1858 as part of the collection of William Monck Mason. I can only surmise that Monck Mason had borrowed it from the Corporation and failed to return it. It is lot 452 in the catalogue of this sale, which reproduces the charter in facsimile. It says that it 'was doubtless in the archives of the city of Bristol' but there can be little doubt that it came from the Dublin archives.[2] A copy of this sale catalogue in the National Library of Ireland has a note in the margin that it was bought for 13 guineas, the purchaser's name being given as Holmes. Whether Holmes acted as buyer for Sir Thomas Phillipps or was an intermediate owner I do not know, but it eventually found its way into the Phillipps collection (MS. 33747) whence it was acquired by the National Library, where it now is, being numbered D 10018.

The other charter is that of Prince John confirming Henry II's charter to the monks at Mellifont, given at Castleknock, also in 1185, when John was in Ireland. This charter was seen by Archdall (*Monast. Hib.* 480) who transcribed it (rather inaccurately), and stated that the original was then (1786) in the possession of the earl of Drogheda. This was presumably the case, for the site of Mellifont had been granted to the earl's ancestor at the Dissolution, and several other early royal charters to Mellifont and other Mellifont documents have recently come from the Drogheda muniment room to the National Library of Ireland.[3]

[1]The transcript reads wrongly 'justiciariis' for 'justiciis', and expands the name of one of the witnesses (a well-known one) William de Wenneu(al) wrongly as William de Wennecy.

[2]The lots immediately following this in the sale catalogue are of MSS that undoubtedly came from the city archives, and the charter was certainly in Dublin in the seventeenth century when it was transcribed in the Recorder's Book.

[3]These have been edited and discussed at length by Fr Columcille in the *County Louth Archæological Journal,* xii, i, 35.

John's charter had come to Trinity College, Dublin, before 1837 when it was exhibited before the Royal Irish Academy by J. H. Todd (*Proc. R.I.A.*, i, 135). It was printed by Aquilla Smith (*Misc. Irish Arch. Socy.*, i, 158) who stated that the original was in T.C.D. It is not to be found, however, by consulting Abbott's catalogue, so that it is good news for the student that it has recently been located by Mr. O'Sullivan of the Manuscript Department of the Trinity Library in a portfolio of loose papers, and has been temporarily placed on Shelf P.4.

E. St. John Brooks.

BOOK REVIEWS

English Mediæval Architects. (A Biographical Dictionary down to 1550). By John Harvey. Pp. xxii, 412. Batsford. London, 1954.

Half a century ago a few English architects had heard of the names of their mediæval forerunners. The standard history for students mentions but two: William of Sens and his successor at Canterbury, William the Englishman. Perhaps neither might have been noted had it not been for the dramatic circumstance that the former, a Frenchman and "a most craftsman in wood and stone", fell from a scaffold and was crippled after but three years' labours on the new cathedral. The nineteenth century historians of the cathedrals gave all the credit for the buildings to the bishops and other clerics in whose times they were raised, altered or extended. Consequently the names of William of Wykeham, a bishop, and Elias of Dereham, a canon—to mention but two—have been invested with a sort of architectural glamour. Each has long been regarded as both architect and cleric. Great as they were these men were clients rather than architects; enlightened patrons with some knowledge of building, organizers, even "amateur artists of some distinction" as was, apparently, canon Elias. Behind these great names the numerous company of master masons, engineers, carpenters and the like to whom English mediæval architecture owes its structural development and beauty, has long remained hidden and anonymous.

Mr. Harvey's book sweeps away assumptions which have been current for too long. He brings us a mass of biographical detail, full of human interest, about some thirteen hundred great or lesser craftsmen who flourished in England from the XIth to the XVIth century. He is not the first student of the subject; in the preface he acknowledges the work of a number of predecessors who have "provided a firm foundation for further research". But he is the first to bring together in one very handsome volume all that research has revealed, so far, regarding the real author's of England's native architecture in the Middle Ages.

That his researches have been wide and deep is shown by the catalogue of sources drawn upon—some published, many still in manuscript—which contains nearly six hundred titles and fills almost the whole of ten double-column pages. These sources are very various, ranging from the Pipe Rolls of the Royal works (a very rich one) and the muniments of cathedrals and colleges, to comparatively recent articles and books by other students of the subject. The body of evidence is impressive and is presented in a way that is by no means dry-as-dust, for Mr. Harvey has the human touch; he helps us to discern in most of his notices, however concise they may be, something of the character and attainments of the men of whom he writes.

That some of them were perhaps no more than foremen is probable and that most of the carvers, for instance, were not architects as well is fairly certain, but the majority of the master masons, engineers and carpenters were versatile and must be reckoned among the architects. Though Mr. Harvey gives this indubitable status to about seventy-five outstanding men the number is probably much greater. The XIIth century engineers Elias and Ailnoth were at once carpenters, masons and engineers who worked both on castle and palace in addition to making engines of war. The most important masons certainly were architects in a very real, not a paper sense. They graduated through their masonic trade to become designers of works, and organizers and directors of labour. They sometimes became contractors, either singly or in association with others of the mystery, and acted as surveyors and arbitrators. The title architect can hardly be denied to many of the carpenters also, in times when timber played so important a part in building construction. The greatest English carpenter—perhaps the greatest of any country or time—Hugh Herland (1330-1405). who contrived and erected the noble and unsurpassed roof of Westminster Hall certainly deserves the title. Mr. Harvey ranks Henry Yevele (*c.* 1320-1400) as the greatest of English architects. He it was who developed fully the intrinsically English style which we call perpendicular, and the author gives seven double-column pages to his career and works. This very remarkable and busy man worked for the Black Prince and also as the King's deviser of masonry. He was one of the wardens of

London bridge and a master mason at Westminster palace, and he worked on both castles and bridges as well as on the stonework of the Hall supporting Herland's great roof. He was almost certainly the designer of the nave of Canterbury cathedral.

While the sources of most recent date are naturally the fullest and most detailed quite a number of the masons and carpenters of earlier times were noticed. The XIIth century engineers Ailnoth and Elias have been mentioned already but the succeeding century provides many others. One such was Robert of Beverley (*c.* 1263-84), "one of the greatest masters of English architecture". Another, Alexander the Mason—third of the name recorded—was responsible for most important work at Lincoln cathedral. In the late XIIIth century appears the name of James of St. George, the archgenius behind Edward I's great fortresses in north Wales: Conway, Caernarvon, Harlech castles. Only slightly less notable was Walter of Hereford who designed Beaumaris castle. Less prominent was Nicholas de Aundely, who died about 1245. He possibly worked at the "Saucy Castle" about 1198 and it is interesting to us that he was employed at Carlingford in 1210 and other Irish castles about the same time. Another engineer in the royal service in Ireland was Robert Lengynour (i.e. 'the engineer') of the early XIVth century, who repaired Arklow castle in 1339 and also worked at Leixlip castle and the King's mills there and near to the castle of Dublin. John More, mason (*fl. c.* 1346) may be the John More who was concerned in works at Dublin and Carlow castles in 1372 and 1381 respectively.

It would be easy to give more notes from the rich book did space permit. One must suffice: William Hurley (1319-54) an "outstanding structural inventor" who devised the great octagonal lantern at Ely cathedral in place of the fallen central tower, a most remarkable work by which a catastrophe was turned into a triumph.

The book is provided with appendices on portraits and tables of remuneration, and with adequate indexes, subject, topographical and general. The very useful chronological table begins at 1020 and closes with 1558 and includes the names of the architect to whom each work is attributed.

This splendid book will be indispensable to every serious student of the architectural art of England in the Middle Ages, the organization of its works, the provenance of materials and the life, responsibilities and emoluments of the mediæval architect.

H. G. L.

GENEALOGY FOR BEGINNERS. By Arthur J. Willis. Ernest Benn. Price 15s.

Mr. Willis is a quantity surveyor, and his approach to the subject of tracing a pedigree is marked by the thoroughness and care for detail that one might expect from a member of that profession. He takes the reader on a tour of the usual sources for family history, indicating the most helpful records and where to consult them, and finishes with an account of how he tried, not unsuccessfully, to trace his own ancestry back to the beginning of the seventeenth century, which is as far as the average middle-class family can hope to go.

A book of this kind, written for the English student in touch with English records and libraries, is not of such obvious use to the Irish searcher, whose problems are somewhat different. Since the destruction of the Irish records in 1922 the genealogist is thrown back on such evidences as the Betham will abstracts, the deeds in the Registry of Deeds and the surviving parish registers. But the methods of the researcher are much the same in both countries—to begin by collecting all the family information and tradition available, and then to proceed backwards from known to unknown. The weighing of genealogical evidence calls for much the same discipline as the weighing of any other kind of evidence, and in indicating the spirit and methods of the research worker, Mr. Willis has achieved his purpose.

E. St. J. B.

CORRESPONDENCE OF EMILY, DUCHESS OF LEINSTER. Edited by Brian Fitzgerald. VOL. II. Stationery Office. Price £2 2s. 1953.

Dr Brian Fitzgerald is a skilled, painstaking editor, who provides exactly the right amount of background by way of introducing, to those who may be unfamiliar with them, the attractive pair whose correspondence makes up this volume—Lord Edward Fitzgerald and his aunt, Lady Sarah Napier. Lord Edward's letters begin in his eighth year (1771) and continue at fairly regular intervals for the next twenty years down to the end of 1792. From the small boy, haymaking at Blackrock and getting a present of a mare from his eldest brother, through the teenager asking his

mother to bring out hounds to Aubigny, the subaltern who in 1780 "had much rather attack the French in Rhode Island than anything else", the major declining his uncle's interest to get him a lieutenant-colonelcy—at every stage there is the charm, the affectionate disposition, the interests in his family and all their concerns, which made him his mother's favourite child. It is, naturally, the private rather than the public side of Lord Edward that is shown in the letters; though a letter of 14 March, 1782 gives (pp. 36-37) an appreciation of the last stages of the American War in South Carolina, where there was "a fine army, able to beat anything the rebels have in this part of the world at present".

When Lord Edward's life, beginning under the fairest auspices, ended in tragedy when he had hardly reached the maturity of his powers, Lady Sarah—after enjoying fame, notoriety, and an odd kind of semi-ostracism before she was thirty—lived to make an ideally happy second marriage and to be the mother of three famous sons. Mr. Fitzgerald rightly draws attention to her "sharp wit", well illustrated in a letter written during the invasion scare of 1779 to her sister; "General Keppel is not employed, nor General Howe, nor any of name. And the King is to head his troops if the French land. So we are, of course, very safe". The contradictory rumours of French landings on both sides of the Irish Sea (p. 288) and the inadequate defences of so important a place as Plymouth (p. 298) are amusingly described by a correspondent whose family connections, her eldest brother being Master-General of the Ordnance, gave her an opportunity of getting inside information: but the underlying seriousness appears in her reference to the Duke of Richmond's offer to raise 24 militia companies in Sussex for the defence of that County. Later in the same year the news from Ireland was considered bad; "the wise ones do not doubt a near rebellion" (p. 297). Lord Buckingham, "I suppose he could not help himself" had appeased the Volunteers by ordering the 11th Regiment out of the capital and assigning its duties to the Dublin companies. Lady Sarah is anxious for her nephew the Duke of Leinster, recently appointed General-in-Chief of the Volunteers, who "may be led by others whose private interests will guide them"; her other sister, Lady Louisa Conolly, "monstrous eager about the Irish affairs . . . cannot bear to find the English accuse the Irish of rebellion, which is not true. . . ." In an entirely different vein, she is writing in September, 1775 a long letter (pp. 146-158) about the proposed alterations and improvements to be made to the Duchess's Blackrock house, soon to be so well known as Frescati. She relates the result of a conference held on the spot between herself, Lady Louisa, and Messrs. Ward and Owens, two builders or contractors, both of whom had submitted plans; and turns aside to quote General Pitt, "a delightful man about houses", who recommends a mud-built dairy, rough-cast, and thatched with reed.

It is unfortunate that a book, so likely to appeal both to general reader and to the specialist in the late eighteenth century, should be sold at a price that makes it almost unpurchasable, except by libraries; and that the format should be notably inferior to that of the first volume, also published at two guineas. Is it too late to ask for a second impression of both volumes, and of those to come, in paper covers at a price not more than ten shillings?

J. A.

EXCAVATIONS AT STAR CARR, AN EARLY MESOLITHIC SITE AT SEAMER, NEAR SCARBOROUGH, YORKSHIRE. By Prof. J. G. D. Clark. With chapters by D. Walker, Dr H. Godwin, F. C. Fraser and J. E. King. Appendix by John W. Moore. Pp. xxiii + 200 + 24 plates (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1954). 63s. net.

The Mesolithic period has a special interest for Irish archæologists, because it was in this period that Ireland was first inhabited. We have no accepted evidence for Palæolithic man in this country, but we have a wealth of late Mesolithic material in the raised-beaches of the north-east coast. The material must be late, because the beach gravels in which it is found only accumulated as sea-level was approaching its post-glacial maximum. By the time the maximum was attained Neolithic folk were already in the country.

An enormous amount of material has been collected and excavated from the raised-beaches, and Professor Movius has described the assemblage as the Larnian industry. Unfortunately all this material is in secondary position, and only flint implements have survived. Inland sites are now coming to light, and at Toome Bay,

Co. Londonderry, I have excavated worked pieces of pine and of hazel wood. But we know nothing of the bone and antler implements that the Larnian folk must have had. The range of the flint implements is very limited, and most of the types have a distant palæolithic ancestry. At Larne collectors have picked up a very few axes, which were made by striking flakes off a residual core, which then formed the implement. These axes have been recognised to have affinity with the Mesolithic industries of Denmark.

After the post-glacial forests had been re-established, settlements with characteristic Mesolithic cultures developed on the shores of certain lakes in Denmark. Excavations in these settlements have produced a wealth of material in flint, wood, bone and antler. One of these cultures is called Maglemosean, and a very limited amount of such material has been recognised in England and in Scotland in recent years. The cores-axes of Larne are probably affiliated with this culture.

The detailed excavations, and the related investigations which Professor Grahame Clark and his colleagues carried out at Star Carr, near Scarborough, in Yorkshire, in 1949, 1950 and 1951, have completely revolutionised our ideas about the origin of the Maglemosean culture. Star Carr is a Maglemosean site, but it is older and not younger, than the Danish sites, and the richness of the material it produced exceeds that of the Danish sites. Before the Yorkshire excavations, three barbed antler points, or 'harpoons', were known from England. Professor Clark unearthed two hundred. Attention was not confined to the artefacts, the environment was also studied. We are shown a small lakeside settlement, dated to 7,500 B.C., where skill in working antler had been very highly developed. We are shown the palæolithic origin of the skill, and the way it altered in the later Danish settlements.

Red deer antlers were used either for hunting disguise, or for ceremonial head-dress. Skulls of male red deer, sufficiently mature to carry well-formed antlers, but still young enough not to be burdened by excessive antler weight, were selected. The skull was cut away, leaving the antlers attached to a base-plate which was thinned down and pierced by two holes. The antlers were lightened by thinning and hollowing, but the natural profile was retained.

The fruits of the excavation and the associated investigations are splendidly published in this book. Irish workers who seek by every means to present their results in the most modest way possible, in order to reduce costs of publication, may well envy Professor Clark the generous hand he was allowed by the Cambridge University Press. To all interested in the Mesolithic period in Europe, this book will serve as a reference work for years to come. To all interested in the Mesolithic period in Ireland, this book will serve as a goad, driving them out to discover the corresponding sites which must exist in this country.

G. F. M.

ARCHIVIUM HIBERNICUM, IRISH HISTORICAL RECORDS. XVIII. Catholic Record Society of Ireland, St Patrick's College, Maynooth.

This issue opens with "Obligationes pro Annatis Diocesis Fernensis" by Rev. Joseph Ranson. "A Propaganda Fide Letter-Book concerning Ireland, 1672-4", by Rev. Brendan Jennings, O.F.M. forms part of a selection of documents which are placed before the cardinals of Propaganda Fide at a special session of the sacred congregation, concerning Ireland, on 20 April, 1676. Rev. Cathhaldus Giblin, O.F.M. presents "Vatican Library: MSS Barberini Latini". A Guide to the Material of Irish Interest on Microfilm in the National Library, Dublin. A Summary Report on "Archives of the Irish Dominican College, San Clemente, Rome", is compiled by Rev. Conleth Kearns, O.P. "Franciscan Library, Killiney", compiled by Rev. Canice Mooney, O.F.M., is a short guide for the student of Irish Church History. Rev. F. X. Martin, O.S.A. furnishes a summary report on "Archives of the Irish Augustinians, Rome". An Appendix gives the continuation of Rev. John Brady's "Catholics and Catholicism in the Eighteenth-Century Press".

C. S.

IRISH HISTORICAL STUDIES. VOL. IX, No. 34, September, 1954.

Rev. Professor A. Gwynn, S.J., in "Some notes on the history of the Book of Kells", comments on the reasons which led the authorities of Trinity College to re-bind the Book of Kells in four parts and tells of some interesting discoveries made when the Book was examined before re-binding which throw new light on the history of the

famous Book. Other articles are: "The regulation of the emigrant traffic from the United Kingdom, 1842-55", by Oliver MacDonagh, M.A., Ph.D. and "Home rule and the general election of 1874 in Ireland", by Lawrence J. McCaffrey, M.A., Ph.D. This issue also contains a list of Writings on Irish History, 1953, and Reviews and Short Notices.

C. S.

JOURNAL OF THE CORK HISTORICAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY. VOL. LIX. No. 190. July-December, 1954.

"Freedom Box of the Cork Incorporated Trading Guilds", by E. M. Fahy, B.A. is an account of an interesting gold freedom box. The inscription on the box and the illuminated address which accompanied its presentation give much information concerning the history of the incorporated trading guilds and companies. A. T. Lucas in "Two Recent Finds", describes a Hair Hurling Ball from Co. Limerick, and a curious wooden object from Tooreenduff, Ballingeary, Co. Cork, which was probably part of a device for restricting the movements of some domestic animal. An account of an Ogham-Inscribed Cross-slab from Church Island, Valentia Harbour, Co. Kerry, is given by Michael J. O'Kelly and Séamus Kavanagh. The following articles are continued: "Tour in Ireland by John Harden in 1797", by Michael Quane, "Some McCarthys of Blarney and Ballea", by John T. Collins, "Studies in Waterford History-XII", by Séamus Pender and "Contributions towards the Political History of Munster, 450-800 A.D.", by Liam Ó Buachalla.

C. S.

ULSTER JOURNAL OF ARCHÆOLOGY. VOL. 16. 1953.

"Archæology in Northern Ireland, 1921-1951" by E. Estyn Evans, is the introductory part of an illustrated lecture given to the British Association in Belfast, September, 1952. Hallam L. Movius, Jr., in "Archæological Research in Northern Ireland: An Historical Account of the investigations at Larne", reviews briefly the conclusions of previous investigators with reference to this and adjacent sites in order to place the 1935 excavation in its proper historical context. "Some Observations on the Mesolithic Period in Ireland" by H. W. M. Hodges outline briefly the main problems and indicate lines of research that would seem probably most productive. E. M. Jope describes three Late Bronze Age Swords from Ballycroghan, near Bangor, Co. Down. An account of the excavation of a Rath at Boho, Co. Fermanagh is given by V. B. Proudfoot (there are Appendices by Margaret Jope, Michael Morrison, Stuart McConaghy, C. H. Emeleus, and J. Preston) Two Early Mediæval Swords found in Ulster are described by D. W. Waterman. "Castleraw, near Loughgall, Co. Armagh" by E. M. Jope, is an instructive example of a defended house constructed for an English colonist in an English plantation area of Ulster. "Traditions of Rundale in and around the Sperrin Mountains" by D. McCourt, throw light on such aspects as field layout, forms of settlement and social pattern, and, supplemented by the occasional written reference, facilitate enquiry into the general history of the rundale system. Other papers in this issue of the Journal are: "The Neolithic Site at Goodland, Co. Antrim" by H. J. Case; "A North Irish Axe of Stone from Great Langdale, Lake District" by E. M. Jope and J. Preston; "Excavations at Tullybeg Fort, Co. Down, 1952" by V. B. Proudfoot; "Enniskillen Water-Gate: a Further Note" by E. M. Jope; "The Little Railway Mania in Co. Antrim (1872-1882)" by D. B. McNeill; "A Catalogue of Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Estate Maps in the Antrim Estate Office, Glenarm, Co. Antrim" by J. Frey; "The Ulster Place-Name Society" by J. B. Arthurs.

C. S.

COUNTY LOUTH ARCHÆOLOGICAL JOURNAL. XIII, 1. 1953.

An article on the Name of Louth, what does Louth mean and stand for? by L. S. Gogan opens this issue of the Louth Journal. Diarmuid Murtagh, M.A., LL.B. contributes a paper on "Louth Regiments in the Irish Jacobite Army". A decorated Stone, found at Miskish More, County Monaghan, is described by Dr Joseph Raftery. In "Material for the History of the Fisheries of the River Boyne", Arthur E. J. Went, D.Sc. gives interesting material which can be used to build up a substantial story of the Boyne Fisheries since the twelfth century. Rev Fr Columcille, O.Cist. publishes, with translations, seven Documents from the old Abbey of Mellifont which

are of the greatest importance as throwing additional light on the history of the oldest Irish Cistercian foundations. These documents range in date from the first decade of the thirteenth century to the twenty-ninth year of the reign of King Henry VIII (1538), just sixteen months before the dissolution of the abbey. Rev. Dermot MacIvor gives the last of a series of articles on "Historical Notes on Millockstown and Blakestown". The purpose of these articles is to assemble material for an eventual history of the parish of Kildemock. Two carved stones, recently discovered at St Peter's Church, Drogheda, are described by John Hunt, M.A. C. S.

JOURNAL OF THE GALWAY ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. VOL. XXV, NOS. 3 and 4. 1953-1954.

This issue of the Journal opens with a paper, "Bread and Circuses" by Francis Killeen, M.A. which deals with horse-racing in Ancient Rome and which should be found interesting and acceptable in a city with a famous racing tradition. Very Rev. M. J. Connellan, P.P. in "Where on Cruachain was Seandomnach Maighe Aí?" identifies the site where St Patrick set up a clay-wall church on the heights of Cruachain. "County Galway Place-Names" by T. S. Ó Máille, Ph.D. discusses Gortronnagh, Inchagoill, Killaltanagh and Rusheennamanagh. Four conjoint rough-outs for wooden bowls from Kilbennan Bog, Co. Galway, and eleven from a bog in the townland of Roebuck near Mount Nugent, Co. Cavan, are described by A. T. Lucas, M.A. "Notes on some of the Antiquities of the Barony of Ballynahinch, Co. Galway" is an interesting paper by Lord Killanin, M.A. Other informative papers are: "Progress and Suppression of the United Irishmen in the Western Counties in 1798-99" by Rev. Patrick K. Egan, C.C. and "Ainmneacha na nDíoghaise i nÉirinn, 1716", leis an Athair P. E. Mac Fhinn.

C. S.

PROCEEDINGS

Meetings of the Society were held as follows:—

1. *January 25, 1955.*—Annual General Meeting at the Society's House, Dublin, at 8 p.m. Chairman: Professor Seán P. Ó Ríordáin, *President.*

No other nominations having been received the Chairman declared the following elected to their respective offices:—

President.—Professor Seán P. Ó Ríordáin.

Hon. General Secretary.—A. T. Lucas.

Hon. Treasurers.—J. Maher and B. J. Cantwell.

Members of Council.—Senator Professor Michael Hayes, Dr. R. de Valera and Dr. Máire MacDermott.

Dr. A. Farrington and Dr. William O'Sullivan were appointed Hon. Auditors for the year 1955.

The Report of the Council for 1954 was adopted.

Two fellows and five members were elected.

An illustrated lecture entitled " The Western O'Mahonys and their Tower Houses on the Schull Peninsula, Co. Cork " was delivered by Dr. L. B. Somerville-Large.

2. *March 1, 1955.*—Ordinary Meeting at the Society's House at 8 p.m. Chairman: Professor Seán P. Ó Ríordáin, *President.*

A lecture entitled " An Irish Countryman's Adventures in the British Navy, 1809-1815 " was delivered by Professor R. W. Moody, F.T.C.D.

3. *April 19, 1955.*—Quarterly Meeting at the Society's House at 8 p.m. Chairman: Professor Seán P. Ó Ríordáin, *President.* Nine members were elected.

The Report of the Hon. Auditors for 1954 was adopted.

Professor Seán P. Ó Ríordáin delivered a Presidential Address entitled " Preserve, Examine, Illustrate: A Commentary of the position of Irish Archaeology."

4. *June 7, 1955.*—Ordinary Meeting at the Society's House at 8 p.m. Chairman: Professor Seán P. Ó Ríordáin, *President.*

An illustrated lecture entitled " The Irish Megaliths and France " was delivered by Dr. Glyn E. Daniel of Cambridge University.

5. *June 23, 1955.*—Quarterly Meeting in the Manx Museum, Douglas, Isle of Man (by kind permission of the Trustees of the Manx Museum) at 8 p.m. Chairman: Professor Seán P. Ó Ríordáin, *President.* Eight members were elected.

A lecture entitled "Links between Ireland and Man" was delivered by Captain David Craine.

6. *September 30, 1955.*—Quarterly Meeting at the Society's House at 8 p.m. Chairman: District Justice Liam Price, *Past President.* Four members were elected.

A lecture on "Sources for Early Irish History: the Origin Tales" was delivered by Professor Myles Dillon.

7. *November 1, 1955.*—Ordinary Meeting at the Society's House at 8 p.m. Chairman: Professor Seán P. Ó Ríordáin, *President.*

A lecture entitled "An Irish Jacobite: Lord Sarsfield of Kilmallock" was delivered by Dr. J. G. Simms.

8. *December 6, 1955.*—Statutory Meeting at the Society's House at 8 p.m. Chairman: Professor Seán P. Ó Ríordáin, *President.* Nine members were elected.

Vacancies were declared for Officers and Members of Council.

A lecture on "Sources for Early Irish History: the Book of Invasions" was delivered by Professor Myles Dillon.

The Excursions held during the year (detailed in the Report of the Council for 1955, Journal 1956 Pt. I) were as follows:—

Spring Excursion; April 30, 1955, to Maynooth; Summer Excursion: June 21-25, 1955, to Isle of Man; Autumn Excursion: September 24, 1955, to sites in Co. Kildare.

ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS FOR 1954

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Subscriptions:						
Fellows	206	0	0			
Members	918	13	0			
In advance for 1955 ...	70	12	0			
In arrear for 1953	96	10	0			
				1,291	15	0
„ Life Compositions				113	0	0
„ Rents				330	14	8
„ Excursions				104	3	6
„ Sale of Publications				178	15	11
„ Miscellaneous:						
Donation		10	0			
Dividends	11	7	6			
Income Tax Refund 1949-1953	42	2	6			
Teas at Meetings		9	0			
Telephone Calls made by Members		11	7			
Sale of 2½% Defence Bonds ...	993	16	0			
Credit Balance forward from 1953	51	8	10			
Credit Balance in Library Account	91	6	5			
				1,191	11	10
				£3,210	0	11

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By Refund to Library Account of transfer on December 31, 1953				107	16	0
„ Journal:						
Printing 1953 II, 1954 I and on account for 1954 II ...	839	16	4			
Illustrating 1954 I and II ...	110	6	3			
				950	2	7
„ *Calendar of Archbishop Alen's Register:* Final Instalment ...				200	0	0
„ Excursions				57	15	0
„ Fuel and Light				66	18	6
„ Rents, Taxes, Insurance ...				159	12	8
„ Salaries				265	17	6
„ Miscellaneous Printing and Stationery				91	11	3
„ Petty Cash				20	0	0
„ Postage				55	0	0
„ Incidentals:						
Purchase of £1,010 2 0 Dublin Corporation 5% Redeemable Stock	1,003	17	9			
Invested in Post Office Savings Bank	62	5	0			
Bank Fee	3	1	0			
Bank Interest		13	0			
Carpet for Library	10	0	0			
Repairs to Premises ...	29	18	6			
Telephone	14	6	7			
Purchase of Journal Stocks ...	10	0	0			
Credit Balance on Combined Accounts Nos. 1 and 2 ...	101	5	7			
				1,235	7	5
				£3,210	0	11

We have examined and compared the 1954 Annual Accounts with the vouchers and bank pass book and found same correct, showing a credit balance on working in the year of One hundred and one pounds, five shillings and seven pence (£101:5:7).

The Society now holds the following investments and Capital Funds:

£100 3½% Fourth National Loan;
£155 Post Office Savings Certificates;
£280 4½% New Land Bonds;
£217 11 9 deposit in Post Office Savings Bank;
£1,010 2 0 Dublin Corporation 5% Redeemable Stock 1968/73.

(Signed) A. FARRINGTON,
WILLIAM O'SULLIVAN,
Hon. Auditors

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THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND

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